September 2, 2002 49145 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

DAVID PRYCE-JONES: THE COMING HASHEMITE REVIVAL?

NATIONAL REVIEW

The Best Governor in America

JOHN J. MILLER
ON COLORADO GOV.
BILL OWENS

PLUS:

BYRON YORK
How Clinton Spins the Terror War

JOHN O'SULLIVAN
How Bush Loses the Partisan War

#BXNCMYG **********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ55BY003# 0403
88 NTRV 616 P0080
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST # 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

0 71896 49145 6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Walls and neighbors

Robert Frost wrote that good fences make good neighbors. While there may be times when that makes sense, we think it's important to avoid setting up barriers with neighbors.

Because good neighbors and neighborhoods can make a great difference in everyone's life, strengthening community and neighborhood life has been and remains both a preoccupation and a challenge for Americans.

One organization that works on improving the places where Americans live is Neighborhoods USA (NUSA), a non-profit group created in 1975.

The goal of this group is to build and strengthen neighborhood associations and to promote productive collaborations and communications between those associations and the public and private sectors. Because maintaining neighborhood quality has been a greater challenge in minority communities, most of NUSA's efforts have been directed toward places where the need is greatest. Today, more than 1,100 neighborhood associations are members.

Recently, NUSA's annual conference met in Houston, and ExxonMobil was honored to receive a NUSA Notable Award for 2002. This award is presented to selected individuals and businesses for their consistent support of community and neighborhood efforts across the United States.

The award was presented to ExxonMobil for our help in revitalizing neighborhoods near our Baton Rouge refinery and chemical plant. Over the years the facility has seen the demographics of the surrounding area change, bringing many of the social problems faced by inner-city neighborhoods. Our neighbors and we have joined forces in improving local safety, education and appearance.

What has this collaboration meant in concrete terms?

We have partnered with North Baton Rouge Neighborhoods United and have sponsored activities such as Meet Your Neighbor Day and an annual clean-up day. In addition, we sponsor a summer youth-employment program with a variety of non-profit organizations. This last effort began with 20 students and has now grown to placement of more than 100. Assistance is critical to allowing these non-profit groups to maintain an increased number of community service programs in the summer months.

Partnership instead of barriers

Our employees have established Ambassador teams to work with the faculty of 17 local schools to improve their facilities and their programs. Employees from the company discuss career opportunities, mentor students and assist teachers.

Grants are made available for new classroom equipment, materials and other school activities.

Housing is also targeted, with employees assisting in building some of the 50 Habitat for Humanity homes in the area. The company has also supported the local Community Development Corporation, which has built and sold another 10 homes.

These activities are part of a long-term partnership with our neighbors, helping to improve one neighborhood at a time.

ExxonMobil™

Please visit our Web site at www.exxonmobil.com

© 2002 Exxon Mobil Corporation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 2, 2002 VOL. LIV, NO. 16

ARTICLES

17 America's Best Governor *by John J. Miller*
For Republicans, a Rocky Mountain high.

18 Out of the Doldrums *by John O'Sullivan*
What President Bush has done well, he should do across the board.

20 Clinton the Anti-Terrorist *by Byron York*
Ah, 'the permanent campaign.'

22 A Time for Kings? *by David Pryce-Jones*
Hashemites and others in the Arab mix.

24 Smith vs. Sununu *by Bernadette Malone*
An intra-GOP war in New Hampshire.

26 What Juan Diego Saw *by Rod Dreher*
The story of a new saint.

28 The Stock Market Without Tears
by Kevin A. Hassett
What we said in *Dow 36,000*; why the critics are wrong.

30 Fallout *by Robert Elegant*
In Kazakhstan, the human wreckage of Soviet nuclear tests.

33 Salem in Newcastle *by Theodore Dalrymple*
What a recent child-abuse scare in England tells us.

36 'Soli Deo Gloria' *by Jay Nordlinger*
Not your average music camp.

Cover: Michael Smith/Newsmakers

WORLD WIDE WEB
www.nationalreview.com

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Florida Refought—*Mark Miller,* ***page 42***
Bush v. Gore: The Question of Legitimacy, *edited by Bruce Ackerman*

Not Our Kind, Dear—*Digby Anderson,* ***page 43***
Snobbery: The American Version, *by Joseph Epstein*

The Mad Doctors—*Paul C. Vitz,* ***page 45***
The Road to Malpsychia: Humanistic Psychology and Our Discontents, *by Joyce Milton*

Music: The Song Is Ended—*Roger Scruton on pop music,* ***page 46***

City Desk: A City That Barks—*Richard Brookhiser on New York dogs,* ***page 48***

SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 For the Record
6 The Week
39 The Long View
40 Help!
44 Poetry
50 On the Right
52 The Misanthrope's Corner

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices.

©National Review, Inc., 2002.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

September 2 issue; printed August 15

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger
Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Dorothy McCartney
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Production Editor Christopher McEvoy
Associate Editors
Emmy Chang / Julie Crane
Kathryn Jean Lopez / Sarah Maserati
Research Director John J. Virtes
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to Mr. Buckley Tony Savage
Assistant to the Editor Elizabeth A. Fitton
Editorial Associates
Aaron P. Bailey / Patricia B. Bozell
Melissa A. Seckora / Jane Buckley Smith
Editorial Assistant
George Vara
Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / Linda Bridges
John Derbyshire / W. H. von Dreele
Rod Dreher / Roman Genn
Jonah Goldberg / John Hillen
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Stephen Moore / John Simon

PRESIDENT
Thomas L. Rhodes
EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Wm. F. Buckley Jr. / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo
Tom Bethell / James Bowman
David Brudnoy / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Charles R. Kesler
John Kiley / James Jackson Kilpatrick
David Klinghoffer / Anthony Lejeune
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
Paul Craig Roberts / William A. Rusher
Tracy Lee Simmons / Terry Teachout
Taki Theodoracopulos / Ralph de Toledano
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associate Publisher Jack Fowler Sr.
Assistant to the Publisher Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Victoria Manca
Irina Dynkevich
Circulation Director Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager Jason Ng

WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226
ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Manager Elizabeth Capano
Account Executive Aaron Cohen
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

PUBLISHER
Edward A. Capano

■ LETTERS ■

RESISTING THE NAZIS

Austin Bramwell's fine review of Michael Federici's *Eric Voegelin* ("Eschaton Redux," July 1) says that "one wonders how exactlv Voegelin resisted the Nazi influence." The answer should not be left to wonder or surmise: He resisted by all scholarly means—courageously publishing three books in German against Hitler beginning in 1933, being fired because of that from the University of Vienna after the Anschluss in 1938, and thereafter barely escaping the Gestapo with his life by fleeing to Zurich.

Details are given in his *Autobiographical Reflections*, which I edited; this and earlier books are now published in English and are available through www.ericvoegelin.org.

G. Ellis Sandoz
Director, Eric Voegelin Institute
Baton Rouge, La.

SPAGHETTI WARS

Steven Camarota's observation that persons from Latin America increasingly dominate the disturbingly large number of immigrants to the U.S. ("Too Many," July 29) confirms that what we are now witnessing is not immigration but *migration*.

Throughout world history, peoples have moved from one place to another, in the process displacing the former inhabitants. Whether the resulting cultural and political reality is now assimilable by the American body politic is at best uncertain: Identity is key and numbers are decisive.

Jon Fennell
Naperville, Ill.

Steven Camarota writes, "It is now possible to call—or even to visit—one's home country with a frequency that was inconceivable even 50 years ago. . . . In such a world, it is less likely that immigrants will develop a deep attachment to the U.S."

Please inform Mr. Camarota that many years ago, millions of Italian immigrants developed such an attachment, even while hearing Caruso sing opera by Verdi, reading Italian newspapers and letters, and visiting the Old Country.

Occasionally they expected the new country to conform to them. Thus Middle American WASPs began eating pizza, pasta, and marinara sauce.

Leave it to the conservative "traditionalists" to feel menaced by "encroaching aliens."

Greg Donio
New York, N.Y.

A MODEST PROPOSAL

Re Ramesh Ponnuru's "One Branch Among Three" (July 29): Another suggestion for taming the judiciary would be to end lifetime tenure. Federal judges should be appointed to a 14-year term and be eligible for reappointment. This would provide longevity and independence but also promote accountability.

No government official should be appointed for life.

Paul Feiner, Town Supervisor
Greenburgh, N.Y.

SEND 'EM A MESSAGE

Ramesh Ponnuru's piece, "Save the Investors—and Yourselves" (Aug. 12) misses the point.

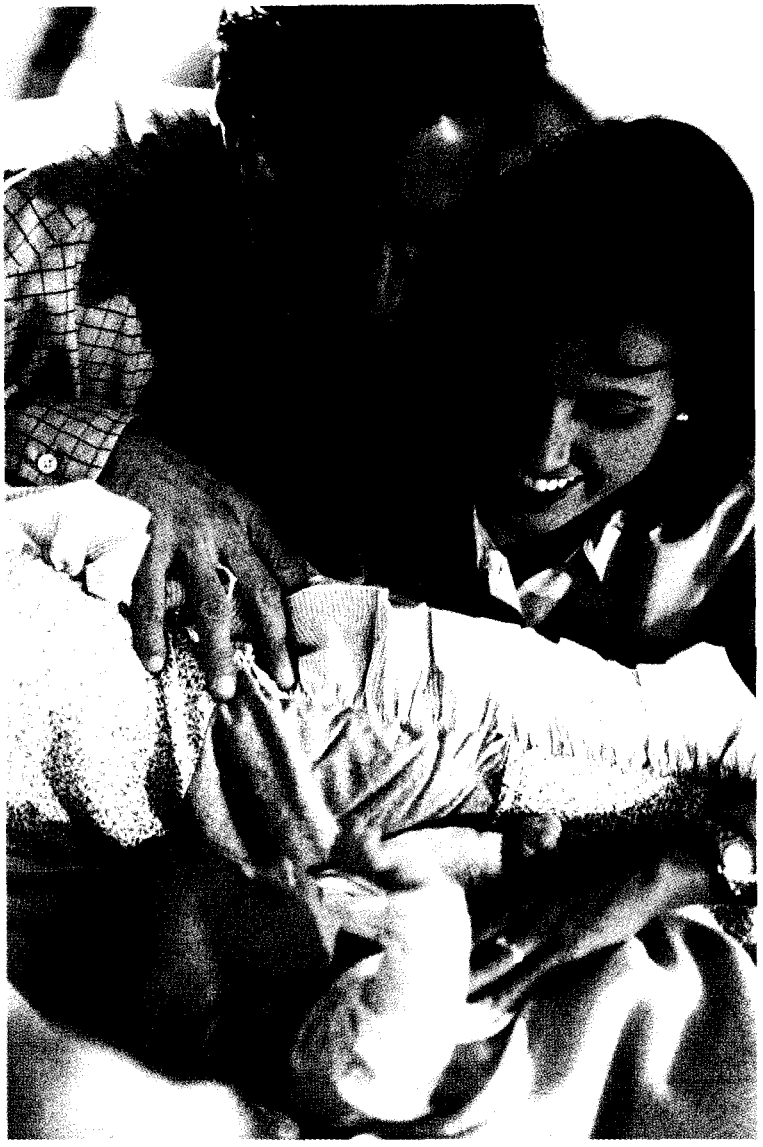
In taking my quote from CNN's *Crossfire* out of context, he tries to assert that members of Congress believe the market does not matter. That could not be further from the truth. I said, as Mr. Ponnuru quotes, "The stock market doesn't measure the economy." The market responds to a host of factors. Surely Mr. Ponnuru doesn't believe that the economy would be twice as strong as it is today if the Dow were at 15,000.

I was responding to a ridiculous, partisan charge that the market's woes reflected great economic decline. Main Street, not Wall Street, measures the economy.

However, the market does measure shareholder fear. That's why Congress moved so quickly to send the message that criminals who defraud investors or risk Americans' retirement savings will be punished.

Rep. Roy Blunt
[R., Mo.]
Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Smart Investing and Catholic Values

NOW YOU CAN HAVE BOTH

AVE MARIA CATHOLIC VALUES · FUND ·

The Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund is an equity mutual fund designed specifically for morally responsible investors. The Fund's experienced investment managers select stocks based on sound investment fundamentals and pro-life Catholic values. The goal is long-term capital appreciation. Contact us today to learn more.

INVESTMENT PERFORMANCE FOR THE PERIOD ENDING 3/31/02	3 MONTHS	SINCE INCEPTION 5/1/01
Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund*	6.38%	12.00%
S&P 500 Index	0.28%	-8.23%

* A contingent deferred sales load of 1% is charged on redemptions of shares within one year of purchase. Assuming redemption of shares at the end of the periods indicated, investment performance would be 5.38% for 3 months and 11.00% since inception.

The investment performance above assumes reinvestment of dividends and capital gains distributions. Performance data reflects certain fee waivers and reimbursements. Without such waivers, performance would have been lower. The S&P 500 Index is a capitalization weighted unmanaged index of 500 widely traded stocks, created by Standard & Poor's. The index is considered to represent the performance of the stock market in general. Indexes do not incur fees and it is not possible to invest directly in an index.

Past performance is not a guarantee of future results. Investment return and principal value may fluctuate so that shares, when redeemed, may be worth more or less than their original cost. For more complete information about the Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund including charges and expenses and updated performance, please write or call Schwartz Fund Distributors, Inc. for a free prospectus. Please read the prospectus carefully before you invest or send money. Schwartz Fund Distributors, Inc., 3707 W. Maple Road, Bloomfield Hills, MI 48301.

FINANCIAL ADVISORS: Please call 1-248-644-8500 for Fund kit and more information

Call Toll Free

1-866-AVE-MARIA

(1-866-283-6274)

or visit

www.avemariafund.com

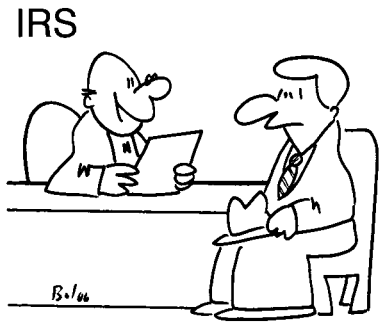
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ President **Bush**'s job approval, in latest Cook Political Report/Ipsos-Reid poll: 65 percent. . . . Bush, in introduction to Time-Life 9/11 memorial book: "Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear and consequential. . . . Against such an enemy, there is no immunity, and there can be no neutrality." . . . Bush, after meeting with rescued Pennsylvania miners: "The determined spirit of America, and our optimism and our ability to solve problems . . . is alive and strong." . . . Bush, in South Carolina: "The foundation for [economic] growth is strong in America." . . . AFL-CIO's **John Sweeney**, when asked if he agrees with Bush's economic assessment: "I don't believe that that's true." . . . Bush, after signing corporate-reform bill: "The era of low standards and false profits is over." . . . Bush, in Pittsburgh, signs Born-Alive Infant Protection Act into law: "Today, through sonograms and other technology, we can see clearly that unborn children are members of the human family. . . . They reflect our image, and they are created in God's own image. [This act] is a step toward the day when every child is welcomed in life and protected in law."

■ South Dakota Senate candidate **John Thune** (R.) on whether he would support **Tom Daschle** or **Trent Lott** for Senate majority leader: "I will cross that bridge when I come to it." . . . Former governor **Lamar Alexander** beats Rep. **Ed Bryant** in Tennessee Republican senatorial primary. . . . **Marsha Blackburn**, running on a tax-cut platform and supported by Club for Growth, wins GOP primary for Bryant's seat by large margin. . . . In Kansas, conservative candidates **Tim Shallenburger** and **Phill Kline** win GOP primaries for governor and attorney general, respectively. . . . RNC to conduct poll assessing viability of Republican **Bill Simon**'s campaign for California governor. . . . Rep. **James Traficant** (D., Ohio) expelled from House in overwhelming vote. . . . Sen. **George Allen** (R., Va.) on Sen. **Robert Torricelli**'s (D., N.J.) reprimand from Senate Ethics Committee: "It reminds me a lot of a story here in southwest Virginia about a horse thief. And the jury goes through the whole case and they say, 'Not guilty, but you have to return the horse.'" . . . In Quinnipiac poll, GOP candidate **Douglas Forrester** now tied with Torricelli for N.J. Senate seat. . . . Homeland Security director **Tom Ridge**, in *Washington Times*: "We must not create a DHS that is too rigid and inflexible to meet the threat. If Congress approves a bill without managerial flexibility, its victory will be a hollow one."

■ **Hillary Clinton** addresses Democratic Leadership Council to partisan acclaim. . . . "I wish she would run," says Maine state representative **Lisa Tessier Marrache** in *New York Post*. "She's very charismatic." . . . DNC chairman **Terry McAuliffe** criticizes GOP Hispanic outreach: "The president invites mariachi bands down to the White House and



"Your tax rate is 32 percent, plus 11 percent for flinching."

that's supposed to be some kind of outreach effort." . . . **Joe Lieberman** on 2000 presidential race, quoted in *New York Times*: "Al said some things in the campaign that were not the logical continuation of things—his voting record in the Senate and his career in public service. . . . It was not the New Democratic approach." . . . In Pew Research poll, 26 percent of respondents say they believe almost nothing **Al Gore** says.

■ **Jim Jordan**, executive director of Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, on whether Bush might attack Iraq before Nov. elections: "You mean when General **Rove** calls in the air strikes in October?" . . . Princeton professor **Cornel West** says his choice of clothes is a "personal existential choice that has political dimensions," in *Washington Post*. . . . Rev. **Al Sharpton**, on his presidential campaign: "I think we can win, but I don't think that people ought to vote for someone they don't believe in just as in the name of that's the winner. If that's the case, then no one should run and just say that Bush is the winner, because today that's the way it looks." . . . Florida governor **Jeb Bush**, in London: "If Prime Minister **Blair** wanted to run for office in Florida, or any place in the United States, I guarantee he would win in a landslide."

■ Sen. **Joe Biden** (D., Del.) on *Meet the Press*: "I believe there probably will be a war with Iraq. The only question is, is it alone, is it with others, and how long and how costly will it be?" . . . Vice President Cheney on Iraq: "The international community will have to come together in some fashion and figure out how we're going to deal with this growing threat." . . . In Wilson Research Strategies poll, 68 percent of Americans support the forcible overthrow of **Saddam Hussein**. . . . Airlines cut flights for September 11, 2002, citing "anticipated slower traffic."

■ Grandson of late Soviet premier **Leonid Brezhnev**, in *New York Times*: "In the past ten years, [Russians] . . . have received two things: the first is experience and the second is disappointment." . . . French plan restrictions on prostitution, citing surfeit of cheap immigrant labor. . . . Zimbabwe president **Robert Mugabe** insists 2,900 white-owned farms in the country be handed over to the government by the end of August, without compensation. . . . **Rowan Williams**, newly designated Archbishop of Canterbury, inducted as honorary Druid in ceremony in Wales.

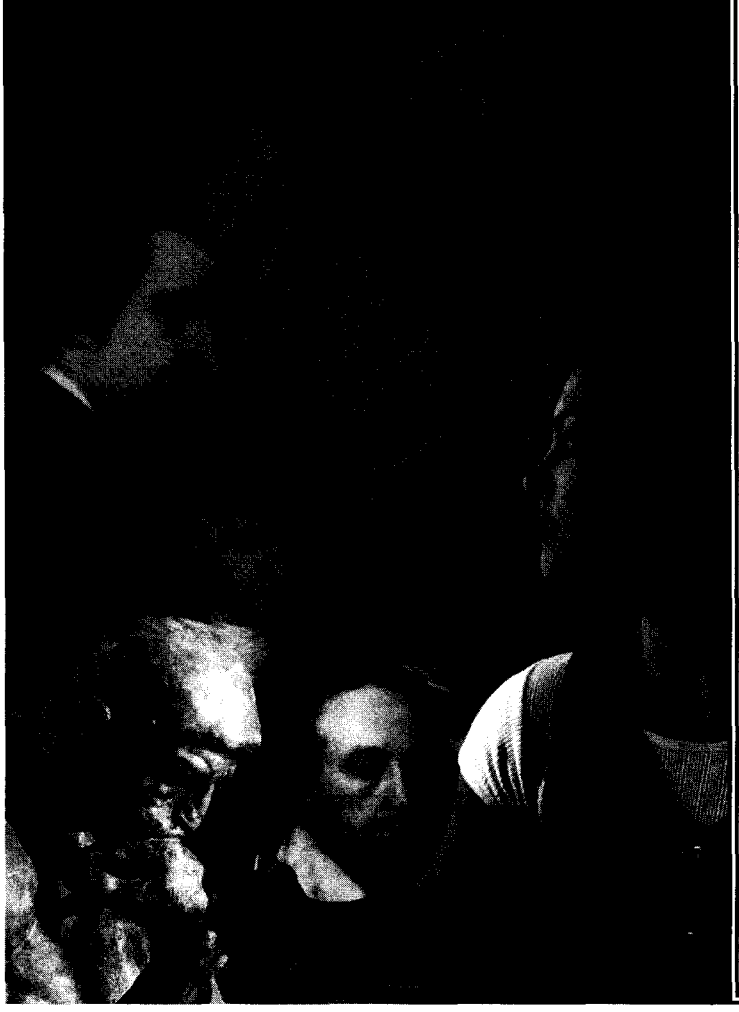
■ "Saddam Hussein is getting a little worried," says comedian **Craig Kilborn**. "Today he bought a new globe and Iraq wasn't on it." **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ideas In Action

Free Benefits for Students and Faculty

Intercollegiate Studies Institute
www.isi.org



- Receive FREE subscriptions to *CAMPUS* and *The Intercollegiate Review*
- Compete for Graduate Fellowships
- Undergraduate Honors Program
- Host campus lectures and debates
- Network with outstanding scholars and students
- Attend conferences & seminars
- Buy books at membership discounts

JOIN TODAY!

1-800-526-7022
members@isi.org

ISI

Intercollegiate Studies Institute
Post Office Box 4431
Wilmington, DE 19807-0431

"Educating for Liberty since 1953"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ "If Iraq came across the Jordan River, I would grab a rifle and get in the trench and fight and die," Bill Clinton told a dinner for a Jewish charity in Toronto. And what would he have said to an Iraqi audience?

■ Speaking of Iraq, Dick Armey said, "I don't believe that America will justifiably make an unprovoked attack on another nation. It would not be consistent with what we have been as a nation or what we should be as a nation." Armey does not believe that Iraq's refusal to comply with U.N. weapons inspections is sufficient provocation: "What if the French decided they wanted to inspect American military facilities?" A fine analogy, if America had recently tried to conquer Canada through force of arms; tried to assassinate the former prime minister of France; used weapons of mass destruction; and had a totalitarian government with an expansionist ideology. Armey added that international law would not permit us to make an "unprovoked attack." What Armey is illustrating here is the intellectual decline of anti-interventionism on the right. He is not, after all, making the traditional libertarian or Old Right arguments against war; he is employing leftist tropes, asserting moral equivalence between America and Iraq and vaguely invoking international law. Conservatives have looked to Armey for leadership on a great many things over the years, but we expect that very few are going to follow his lead this time.

■ The blast at the cafeteria of Hebrew University in Jerusalem is another story in the grim diet of news from Israel. The death of five Americans in the attack prompted a statement from President Bush. "I'm just as angry as Israel is right now. I'm furious that innocent life is lost. However, through my fury, even though I am mad, I still believe peace is possible." When a Greek American, Ioannis Perdicaris, was kidnapped by a Moroccan bandit, Ahmed el-Raisuli, Teddy Roosevelt's State Department sent a cable saying "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." Now President Bush says, Americans are dead, but peace is alive. Why does the president think such a thing in wartime? Israel has been fighting its enemies on and off for more than 50 years. The United States has been engaged in a war of its own, since we were attacked last September. We must pursue our goals, undistracted by the crop circles of diplomacy. Among those goals must now be the condign punishment of Hamas, author of the attack, and its flacks and watercarriers in this country.

■ Ever since the 2000 campaign, Democrats have argued among themselves about whether Al Gore was wise to run as the champion of "the people" against "the powerful." The latest critic is Gore's own running mate, Joe Lieberman, who says that their campaign alienated middle-class voters "who don't see America as us versus them." Gore responded with a *New York Times* op-ed in which he argued that fighting for the people against the powerful was not only a successful campaign theme in 2000, but the historic mission of the Democratic party and, indeed, of the country. These are (characteristically for Gore) grandiose claims about what are almost entirely rhetorical differences. Gore is not planning to nationalize the banks. Lieberman is quite willing to portray issues of economic policy as a morality play when it suits him, as it no doubt will during his corporate-corruption hearings this fall. The two men agree on 98 percent of the issues. Both of them want to make government more powerful. Both favor racial preferences and abortion on demand, both oppose tax cuts and school choice. They have the same platform, the difference being whether it is cast in heroic or managerial terms. We suppose that it is better that a Democratic presidential candidate running on this platform not pretend that he is fighting some corrupt Latin American-style oligarchy. Ideologically, however, there is not much to choose from among the leading Democrats.

■ Republicans in New Hampshire must decide whether to back the reelection bid of Sen. Bob Smith or to nominate the challenger, Rep. John Sununu. The ideological differences between the candidates are slight, as Bernadette Malone reports in this issue, with both men having strong conservative records. Conservatives should therefore choose the candidate who will support their common views most effectively. Sen. Smith, alas, is not that man. He is not favored to win in November if he is nominated, and one of the reasons he is not is his well-earned reputation for erratic judgment. And while Smith has spoken up for conservative causes on the Senate floor, he has done very little behind the scenes to build a working conservative majority. Our recommendation is that New Hampshire conservatives support Sununu, as the better candidate and the better senator.

■ On August 10, at the Democrats' gathering in Las Vegas, party chairman Terry McAuliffe railed against President Bush's business record. "How can he restore confidence to Wall Street when he has engaged in the same practices he condemns today?" McAuliffe roared, apparently referring to the president's decade-old sale of stock in Harken Energy. This is getting tiresome, but let's remind McAuliffe one more time: In the early '90s, the Securities and Exchange Commission did a thorough investigation of the Harken stock sale. SEC experts found no reason to take any action against Bush. All the available evidence suggests that Bush

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The History of Ancient Rome. . .

Taught to you memorably and effectively in 48 information-packed lectures from The Great Courses

Like almost no one before or since, the Romans thought big and built to last. Exploring their lives and achievements with this superb taped course is a wonder and a joy. As you'll learn from these 48 enthralling, easy-to-use lectures on **The History of Ancient Rome** by Professor Garrett Fagan, the Romans' magnificent cultural legacy is all around us still, in our art, architecture, language, literature, engineering, law, government, and religion.

How did the Romans build an empire that ran from Syria to Scotland and lasted for nearly a millennium? How *did* a tiny group of hamlets on the Tiber become a colossus that bestrode the known world and left such a deep impress on history?

To answer these and other fascinating questions, Professor Fagan draws on a wealth of sources, including recent archaeological findings. You'll learn about famous events and personalities, the great landmarks and towering figures of Roman history. And you'll also explore daily life, including such fabled Roman customs as gladiatorial combat, public bathing, and chariot racing.

Treat Yourself to an Intellectual Adventure

Available on audio- or videocassettes, The Great Courses bring hours of intellectual adventure as close as your tape player. Every course comes with helpful printed course guides that give you lecture outlines, reading lists, glossaries, and more.

You can use this course to turn your commute, your exercise time, or your television viewing into a captivating learning experience.

You'll gain a superior understanding of one of the greatest civilizations that ever existed, under the guidance of a distinguished scholar and accomplished lecturer. And you won't have to pay thousands in tuition, take exams, or disrupt your schedule by even a minute.

Julius Caesar. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

You Get the Best in Teaching—Guaranteed!

With **The History of Ancient Rome**, as with all of The Great Courses, you get guaranteed teaching excellence. The Teaching Company scours America from coast to coast searching for the best college lecturers, who can be identified most surely by teaching awards and consistently outstanding marks on independent student evaluations. We found Professor Fagan through these exacting processes, and we promise that he will not disappoint. To back up that promise, we give you our Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee with this and every course we sell.

The History of Ancient Rome tells a complex story that is sometimes horrifying, sometimes glorious, and never less than hugely intriguing. Even at the remove of many centuries, its epoch-making significance leaps from the annals of our common history and shines through many of the finest achievements of our civilization. It is eminently worth knowing, which is why The Teaching Company is so proud to offer this course to all who desire to understand.

Order today. You will also learn *how* you can get *more* teaching that engages the mind from our full line-up of more than 100 Great Courses.

THE COURSE CURRICULUM

PART I *(Lectures 1–12)*
Introduction... The Sources... Pre-Roman Italy and the Etruscans... The Foundation of Rome... The Kings of Rome... Regal Society... The Beginnings of the Republic... The Struggle of the Orders... Roman Expansion in Italy... The Roman Confederation in Italy... The International Scene on the Eve of Roman Expansion... Carthage and the First Punic War

PART II *(Lectures 13–24)*
The Second Punic (or Hannibalic) War... Rome in the Eastern Mediterranean... Explaining the Rise of the Roman Empire... "The Captured Conqueror"—Rome and Hellenism... Governing the Republic, I & II... The Pressures of Empire... The Gracchi Brothers... Marius and Sulla... "The Royal Rule of Sulla"... Sulla's Reforms Undone... Pompey and Crassus

PART III *(Lectures 25–36)*
The First Triumvirate... Pompey and Caesar..."The Domination of Caesar"... Social and Cultural Life in the Late Republic... Antony and Octavian... The Second Triumvirate... Octavian Emerges Supreme...The New Order of Augustus...The Imperial Succession... The Julio-Claudian Dynasty... The Emperor in the Roman World... The Third-Century Crisis

PART IV *(Lectures 37–48)*
The Shape of Roman Society... Roman Slavery... The Family... Women in Roman Society... An Empire of Cities... Public Entertainment I—The Roman Baths and Chariot Racing... Public Entertainment II—Gladiatorial Games... Roman Paganism... The Rise of Christianity...The Restoration of Order ... Constantine and the Late Thoughts on the "Fall" of the Roman Empire

SAVE UP TO $300!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL SEPT. 21, 2002

No-Risk Money-Back Guarantee!

About Your Professor:

GARRETT G. FAGAN (Ph.D., McMaster University, 1993) is associate professor of history at the Pennsylvania State University in State College. A native of Dublin, Ireland, he earned his bachelor's and master's degrees at Trinity College, Dublin, and was a Killam Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of British Columbia. Before joining the faculty at Penn State, he held teaching posts at McMaster University and York University in Canada, and at the University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill and Davidson College. Students at every institution consistently offered high praise for his courses in ancient history.

Shop securely on-line at:
www.teach12.com

To order, mail coupon below or call our toll-free number: (Please refer to Priority Code 13228)

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412) Fax: 703-378-3819

The Teaching Company
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232
www.teach12.com

Priority Code 13228

Please send me **The History of Ancient Rome**, 48 half-hour lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ❑ **Audio $64.95** (reg. price $249.95) **SAVE $185!** plus $20 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Video $99.95** (reg. price $399.95) **SAVE $300!** plus $20 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **CD $89.95** (reg. price $359.95) **SAVE $270!** plus $20 shipping, handling, and guarantee.

❑ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

**Additional international shipping charges may apply.*
***Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.*

❑ **Charge my:** *(please check desired format)*

❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard ❑ Discover Card ❑ American Express

Account Number

Signature Exp. Date

Name (please print)

Mailing Address

City/State/Zip

Phone *(If we have questions regarding your order)*

❑ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Offer Good Through: September 21, 2002

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

did not take part in Enron-style practices. He did not take part in WorldCom-style practices. He did not take part in Martha Stewart-style practices. There are, in fact, more interesting questions about *McAuliffe*'s business career than there are about Bush's. How did he make all that money from the now-bankrupt Global Crossing? What about that Florida land deal? And that bank? If Republicans push hard enough, McAuliffe might be forced to answer—and now would be a good time to start.

■ The vice president resurfaced to deliver a speech at the Commonwealth Club of California, where he declared the economy and himself fundamentally healthy. Although Dick Cheney has been engaged behind the scenes, battling the handwringers at the State Department and traveling the country helping GOP campaigns, his recent low profile denied the president his most able public advocate. For no good reason. As Byron York reported last issue ("Get Cheney"), there is little to the Halliburton accounting scandal, and a CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup poll in late July found 72 percent of Americans thinking that Bush and Cheney's experience as corporate executives is a "good thing." Here's hoping Cheney keeps resurfacing.

■ In August, it seemed everyone was away on vacation—even the president—except the Democratic cranks who stayed in the office to complain about the president's being on vacation. They argued that, with a war on and the economy sputtering, this was no time for him to be clearing brush and riding around in a pickup truck. Of course, Bush was only "on vacation" for two weeks—and those words mean something very different when you're president. Bear in mind that these same Democrats gleefully tied every word the president uttered on the corporate scandals to plummeting Dow numbers. They should make up their minds: Do they want a hands-on Bush or a hands-off one?

■ It's been five months since Democrats on the Senate Judiciary Committee defeated the federal appeals court nomination of Charles Pickering. Now, apparently, it's time to strike again. This time the intended victim is Priscilla Owen, a Texas supreme court justice who is President Bush's choice for a seat on the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Owen had a hearing July 23 during which Democrats grilled her about her opinions on a Texas law that requires minor girls to tell one parent—not ask for permission, just tell—before having an abortion. Then Democrats piled on 75 more written questions for Owen to answer. But the day after Owen got the questions, chairman Patrick Leahy decided he knew enough and abruptly scheduled a vote—a strong indication that he had no interest at all in what Owen had to say. Republicans managed to delay the vote until after the August recess, but GOP senators fear they won't be able to win the one Democratic vote on the committee needed for Owen to be approved. Now, after the latest example of Leahy's bad-faith tactics, they have real reason to worry.

■ Those concerned citizens you see in campaign commercials: Are they real people, or just actors? Very often, just actors, selected with great care to represent whichever mix of racial groups a candidate seeks to appeal to. This is not very surprising; but our culture is full of things that, while not very surprising, may not be said out loud. A certain John R. Wright discovered this recently. Mr. Wright was a campaign worker for Democratic gubernatorial candidate Tony Sanchez in Texas. He posted a want ad on an actors' website, seeking "a couple of African Americans" for a Sanchez ad, and 10 to 15 people "with emphasis on Caucasian" to voice criticisms of GOP governor Rick Perry. Mr. Wright was fired for doing what everybody (including, alas, Republicans) does, and everybody knows everybody does, but nobody is supposed to talk about.

■ In the spring, the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* cheered the Bush administration for working to change the Republicans' anti-immigrant image. A program that gave a qualified amnesty to illegal immigrants had expired, and Bush wanted to revive it. Bush's maneuver has now backfired for two quite predictable reasons. First, most House Republicans have rightly balked at rewarding lawbreaking and weakening border security, and so—by the terms of the narrative that Bush and the *Journal* accept—remain "hostile to immigrants." Second, Dick Gephardt has outbid Bush by proposing a more expansive amnesty. Rather than rethink its position, however, the *Journal* stubbornly persists in misrepresenting the issues at stake. The old program, it editorializes, "applied only to immigrants who entered the country legally on a visa that had expired or was about to." The *Journal* made this claim in the spring as well. As we noted then, and note again now, it is not true. The program gave permanent residency status to people who entered the U.S. illegally, as did the bill to revive the program. The *Journal*'s position, sad to say, rests on carelessness about both border security and the facts.

■ President Bush has called on Congress to reform medical-malpractice laws by capping "out of control" jury awards before it adjourns in the fall. In a spirited speech on the home court of North Carolina's junior senator, John Edwards, who bankrolled his successful campaign with out-of-control jury awards, Bush declared that malpractice reform "says what we want is quality health care, not rich trial lawyers." The president later told an audience in Mississippi that 17 insurance companies no longer offer medical-malpractice coverage to the state's doctors, who are taking down their shingles in alarming numbers. The American Medical Association has found that a dozen states face a similar crisis. The White House estimates that medical-liability abuses cost the federal government $30 billion a year. The House has already approved malpractice reform. Senate Democrats, upholding their oath to do no harm to the income of trial lawyers, unanimously opposed a recent effort by Kentucky Republican Mitch McConnell to cap non-economic-damage awards. Bush's resolve to stop a costly abuse that denies Americans

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

[illegible] and Geopolitical Realignment

Thomas Henriksen
is a
senior fellow
and curatorial director
at the
Hoover Institution.

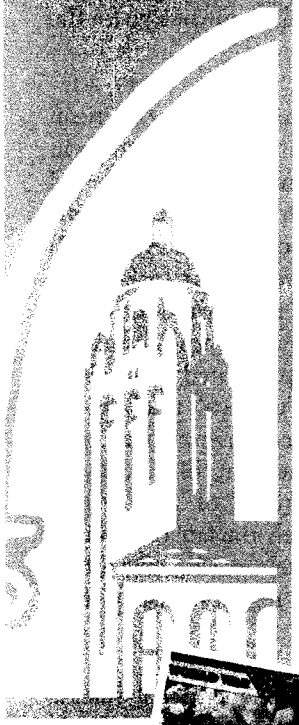


Photo by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Geopolitics is not something Americans spend a lot of time thinking about; we leave that to Foggy Bottom types. But recent developments on the international landscape warrant much more attention than they have attracted.

The Bush administration's success in moving Russia closer to the West represents a remarkable change in geopolitical alignment. **The 1990s witnessed an emerging anti-American partnership between former adversaries Russia and China, which Washington seemed powerless to impede.**

For much of the past decade, Beijing has wooed a weakened post-Soviet Russia by evoking common extremist threats and resentment of U.S. superpowerdom. Last July, China obtained Russia's signature on the Treaty of Good Neighborliness, Friendship, and Cooperation, which, among other things, recognized Beijing's claim to Taiwan and further pitted the two states against U.S. intervention by highlighting the role of the United Nations.

The broadening Sino-Russian entente began to raise red flags. Instances of converging interests strengthened these misgivings: China buys Russian ships and planes for its offshore agenda. Both fight separatists in Central Asia's former Soviet republics, some of whom infiltrated western China. Beijing, the senior partner in the Russo-Chinese corporation, has been gaining influence in Inner Asia as Moscovite power recedes. Behind China's gambit is the quest for access to the vast oil and gas reserves in Inner Asia.

By forming closer relations with the Kremlin, the Middle Kingdom also hopes to break out from its perceived American encirclement and secure its northern border in an effort to pursue a more assertive posture, or "forward policy," in the Pacific.

Ostensibly, Beijing and Moscow consummated their romance this June when Presidents Jiang Zemin and Vladimir Putin cosigned the Shanghai Cooperation Organization charter—along with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan—which strengthens previous treaties on reducing forces along mutual borders and cooperating against terrorism and separatism. But appearances fooled no one, especially not China, for it understands Moscow's recent pro-Western tilt.

At the beginning of the Bush presidency, China's ascendant economy, size, and ambition seemed poised to confront a United States estranged from Russia and assailed by Europe for its unilateralism.

George W. Bush, however, succeeded in undermining this looming Moscow-Beijing axis by drawing Putin into the U.S. antiterrorism campaign, attaining the Kremlin's acquiescence in the deployment of U.S. forces in Central Asian republics, defusing its resistance to Washington's pullout of the ABM treaty, and assuaging its opposition to NATO's eastward enlargement by granting it greater sway with the NATO-Russia Council in May. For Russia, it gets a more reliable partner with the United States plus the benefit of having the United States in Central Asia.

Thus the Bush administration should receive as much acclaim as Richard Nixon did thirty years ago for realigning China on America's side against the Soviet Union. In the present case, **Bush has moved Russia closer to the West and outflanked China on the strategic chessboard.** This statecraft could result in a genuine realignment benefiting the West and Russia. Now it's time to turn our attention back to China and continue to engage it in a twenty-first-century framework of security for the great powers.

— Thomas Henriksen

Interested in more commentary on public policy?

Visit us on-line at **www.hoover.org** *or contact us to receive a complimentary copy of the 200-page, award-winning* Hoover Digest.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

critical services presents Republicans with a winnable health-care issue.

■ New York mayor Michael Bloomberg's proposal to ban smoking in bars and restaurants sticks a thumb in the eye of smokers, even as their ears are being bitten by an extortionate city cigarette tax—$1.50 a pack, up from 8 cents. Retailers report that their sales have plummeted, though that does not mean that New Yorkers are smoking less. They are turning instead to Long Island, New Jersey, and the Internet sites of real or bogus Indian reservations to gratify their vice. They will also undoubtedly turn to smugglers. That will benefit the mob, and perhaps also our enemies: Remember that two of the terror-symps rounded up in the post–9/11 dragnet had been smuggling cigarettes from low- to high-tax states. As the Drug Enforcement Agency might put it in a commercial: When you raise a drug tax, you are helping terrorists.

■ With a serial murderer on the loose somewhere in his state, Louisiana governor Mike Foster offered women this bit of advice: "You have a right to get a [concealed-] gun permit. . . . If you know how [to use a gun] and you have a situation with some fruitcake running around . . . it sure can save you a lot of grief." As John Lott, author of *More Guns, Less Crime,* has pointed out time and again, armed resistance is the best defense against a criminal with a gun—especially for women. Gov. Foster deserves credit for saying it out loud.

■ Anyone who wants to understand what democrats are up against in the Arab world has only to consider the case of Saad Eddin Ibrahim, a professor of sociology at the American University in Cairo, and recognized internationally for his work. Educated in Indiana, he acquired U.S. citizenship. His brainchild is the Ibn Khaldun Center in Cairo, a think tank promoting free and fair elections, and human rights in general, for the Christian Coptic minority as well as for Muslims. For these purposes, the European Union gave his center a grant of $250,000. In a special security court, the 63-year-old Ibrahim has now been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for wrongfully accepting foreign funding and "tarnishing Egypt's image abroad." The simple truth is that his open outlook displeases President Hosni Mubarak. The judges didn't even wait for the defense team to finish its submission. Gordon Gray, the U.S. chargé d'affaires in Cairo, expressed "disappointment and concern." Was that all he could find to say about this outrage committed against a fellow citizen? Asked about Egypt—as well as Saudi Arabia—administration officials have said, over and over, "They've done everything we've asked them to." Okay: How about asking them to release Saad Ibrahim?

■ Washington was aflutter for a few days over a briefing to the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board that condemned Saudi Arabia for being "active at every level of the terror chain." Which is what Clintonites used to call "old news." An analyst from RAND advocated an ultimatum to the Saudis to cease support for terrorism or face U.S. action on its oil fields. In itself, the briefing wasn't that significant—the Defense Policy Board doesn't, despite its name, actually make policy. But that Washington's foreign-policy establishment is willing to entertain such views at all is a sign of how radically the U.S.-Saudi relationship is shifting. (Another, more important one is that the Saudis openly oppose America's chief strategic goal in the region, the removal from power of Saddam Hussein.) The Bush administration distanced itself from the briefing, as it should have. It should not blithely declare new enemies in the Middle East, even as it gets more clear-eyed about a supposed ally that is the world's leading sponsor of Islamic radicalism.

■ Terrorists intending to kill 150 children of missionaries at a school in Pakistan were thwarted by locked doors, so they had to content themselves with killing six Pakistanis—two guards, a receptionist, a cook, a carpenter, and a passerby—instead. Terrorists did, however, succeed in killing three Pakistani nurses as they left the chapel of a Presbyterian hospital. The attacks are targeted at Christians (a.k.a. infidels), Westerners, and the regime of Pervez Musharraf, which is perceived as truckling to both. The bin Ladenites' ability to engage in wholesale murder has been crimped, but they and their sympathizers will keep trying retail operations. America should help Pakistan stabilize itself, and meanwhile go for the sources.

■ Although it's gone unreported in most of the American media, tens of thousands of Iranians have been marching in the streets, demanding change from their corrupt and authoritarian regime. They have been joined in their criticisms by isolated members of the elite, like Ayatollah Jalaleddin Taheri, a 90-year-old prayer leader in Isfahan. Iranians seem to want more than the Gorbachev-like rhetoric of President Mohammad Khatami, whose desires are hard to gauge, and who is in any case prevented from taking significant action by religious courts. America's track record on Iran, beginning with Jimmy Carter, has not been very good. President George W. Bush did the right thing by saying that the United States would be the "friend" of "greater freedom" and "greater tolerance." Ultimately the fate of Iran is in the hands of the Iranian people themselves, who may establish a benchmark for radical Islamist regimes: first in, first out.

■ Following an atrocity in late March, when an Arab suicide bomber blew up himself and 29 Israelis at a Passover dinner, the Israeli army went into the West Bank town of Jenin, known to be a major center and supply depot for terrorist groups. They lost 23 soldiers in the subsequent fighting—13 in a single ambush—and flattened several houses. Palestinians put it about that there had been a massacre of unarmed civilians in Jenin, with a death toll widely quoted as 500. That strange beast named "international opinion" rose up in indignation. Hosni Mubarak spoke of "despicable

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You deserve a factual look at...

The Unrelenting and Virulent Hatred of the Arabs

Will peace ever be possible under those conditions?

After over fifty years of statehood, Israel is a lone outpost of Western civilization and its values. The Arab nations surrounding it are a swamp of terrorism, corruption, dictatorship, and human enslavement. But the hatred of the Arabs against Israel and against all Jews is so abiding and so virulent that peace, at least for the foreseeable future, seems to be most unlikely.

What are the facts?

No "Sacrifice" Will Overcome the Hatred: Many still believe that the conflict between the Arabs and the Jews could be settled if the Israelis were willing to bring greater "sacrifices for peace". Such "sacrifices" would include relinquishing ever-larger portions of their tiny country (less than half the size of San Bernardino County in California) to the Palestinians, dismantling the "settlements" in Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank"), handing the Golan Heights to Syria, and allowing the "return of the refugees" a group that has grown miraculously from about 500,000 to somewhere around 5 million, and the absorption of even a substantial fraction of which would signify the demographic end of the Jewish state. But by now, after almost two years of the bloody war against Israel in the Al Aksa Intifada, it is clear to even the most confirmed "doves", to even the most ardent supporters of the "Oslo Peace Process," that absolutely nothing that Israel could do, any further "sacrifice" that Israel were prepared to bring would satisfy the Arabs and would promote peace. The sad but irrefutable conclusion is that only the complete disappearance of Israel, its annihilation, its being wiped off the map could satisfy the Arabs and most of the Moslem world.

During his recent visit to Syria, not too long ago, the Pope listened to Bashar-al-Asad, the President of Syria, declare that "...the Jews have betrayed Jesus Christ, with the same mentality with which they tried to betray and kill the prophet Mohammed." (Disappointingly, the Pope did not protest this canard, either right then or at a later date.) Saddam Hussein, the tyrant of Iraq, expressed the wishes of his country and of the Arab world with the succinct entreaty "God damn the Jews."

> "Israel's only course...is to assume its previous stance of unflinching deterrence...and not to be inhibited...to preempt resolutely if it appears necessary to assure survival of the country."

Mortal Hatred and the "Big Lie": The "big lie," invented by the notorious Joseph Goebbels of Nazi infamy, is a mainstay of Arab hatred and propaganda. In Egypt and Jordan (the two Arab countries technically at peace with Israel), government-controlled news sources published that Israel had distributed drug-laced chewing gum and candy to kill children and to make women sexually corrupt. The Jews (Israelis) are being accused of having introduced foot-and-mouth disease in the Middle East. The age-old calumny of Jews using the blood of Christian and Moslem children in order to bake their Passover matzos is alive and well in Arab publications. The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, an egregious falsification originating in Czarist Russia, is a steady best-seller in all Arab countries. Among other malevolent fabrications, it accuses "international Jewry" of "limitless ambition, inexhaustible greed, and hatred beyond imagination."

In the controlled Arab press, Holocaust denial and accusation of the Zionists having been in cahoots with the German Nazis are regular features. Egypt's government-sponsored *Al Akhbar* newspaper has expressed fervent thanks to Adolf Hitler for having taken advance revenge on the "vilest criminals on the face of the earth." Still, it berates him for not having been thorough enough in his task of extermination. The Arabs do not consider Israel a normal country, but a creation of the devil, an excrescence, a malignant force of aggressors, murderers, infidels and barbarians. It should be destroyed, for the glory of God, no matter what sacrifices that might entail.

Mortal hatred against Israel and against the Jews is taught to Arab children from the very first grade. Children are encouraged to sacrifice themselves as martyrs and suicide missiles, with promises that Paradise with unimaginable pleasures awaits those who sacrifice themselves in the holy cause of killing Jews.

This bottomless hatred, a hatred that pervades the Arab world in all strata of society and is incessantly fomented by Arab governments, including those supposed to be "at peace" with Israel, cannot be assuaged by negotiation or by making any further "sacrifices for peace". Nothing will suffice, except the destruction, the complete disappearance of Israel. The Arab states, having been unable in over fifty years and in many wars to defeat and exterminate the hated Jews, are now feverishly arming themselves with "conventional weapons" (easily purchased from the West, including, sad to say, from the United States), and are ardently pursuing the development of weapons of mass annihilation. Just as the suicide bombers do not vacillate to sacrifice themselves, one can safely expect that, once in possession of such weapons, the Arabs will not hesitate to sacrifice millions of their own people in order to destroy Israel. Israel's only course in the face of this almost certain prospect is to assume its previous stance of unflinching deterrence and, as it once did in the destruction of the Iraqi atomic reactor at Osirak in 1981, not to be inhibited by "international opinion" to preempt resolutely if it appears necessary to assure survival of the country.

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco,CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501(c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world.Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

Visit our website: www.factsandlogic.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crimes." The British foreign secretary called for an international inquiry. Human Rights Watch declared it a case of "war crimes." The U.N. commissioned a full report. Well, that report has now been issued over the signature of secretary-general Kofi Annan. It gives the Arab death toll as 52, of whom the great majority were armed men. It further points out that the reason that fighting occurred in civilian-populated districts was that "armed Palestinian groups . . . placed their combatants and installations among civilians." (A violation of the Geneva Convention, incidentally.) Jenin was indeed, the report notes, a base of operations for various Palestinian terrorist gangs, just as the Israelis had claimed. We await retractions and apologies from "international opinion."

■ The International Criminal Court is a bad idea whose time has come—an irresponsible supranational body with the power to prosecute crimes that it defines, judge, jury, and lawmaker all in one. The Bush administration, which rightly resisted its inception, has chosen the odd strategy of making separate treaties with countries to guarantee that American soldiers doing peacekeeping on their soil will not be prosecuted. So far we have the assurances of Israel and Romania. This is like repairing leaking pipes by buying rubber boots. The United States has already incurred the odium of the international bureaucratic class by fighting their plaything; we should not take on the additional burden of cobbling up a modus vivendi.

■ After resisting an IMF bailout of Brazil, Treasury secretary Paul O'Neill consented to one. He was right the first time. Brazil's weak currency is a function both of its own past manipulation of the *real* and of the risk of political instability (hard-Left candidates are leading in the presidential polls). The IMF cannot protect Brazil from its own political culture. *Time* quotes an unnamed Republican who defended the bailout thus: "The bank stocks are all up." Right. Taxpayers are *really* bailing out American banks that made questionable loans to Brazil. What Brazilians will get out of this arrangement, meanwhile, is additional debt. A bad deal all around.

■ Notwithstanding the bellowing and blustering from Beijing over Taiwan, personal exchanges across the Straits of Formosa are thriving, to the degree that many Taiwan men now have mainland wives. The downside to this arrangement became apparent recently, when six of these wives, visiting with relatives on the mainland, were rounded up by the Communist birth-control police, given pregnancy tests, and then, following positive test results, ordered to have abortions. A Taiwan lawyer involved in these cases blames the situation on mainland misunderstanding of Taiwan law, according to which the children of these marriages are Taiwan permanent residents, "so they won't be a burden to China." Ah, but according to mainland state dogma, Taiwan *is* China, remember?

■ News comes from a group of U.N.-sponsored scientists that a vast cloud of pollution now blankets South Asia, from Afghanistan to Sri Lanka. According to the scientists' report, the "Asian Brown Cloud" could be responsible for flooding, drought, and acid rain, as well as respiratory illnesses that kill half a million people per year in India alone. This information should expose once and for all the tunnel-vision of the environmental lobby, which blames industrialized economies like America's for the planet's woes. The U.N. report notes that major causes of the Asian Brown Cloud include smoke from wood- and dung-burning stoves, cooking fires, and the burning of agricultural waste. In other words: South Asia is choking itself to death largely because it does not have the kind of high-tech, modern economy that the United States does. Modern economies also pollute, and the U.N. report cites the burning of fossil fuels. But the fact that the cloud is hovering above Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, and all the land in between—and not over New England—should make enviros realize that the world would be cleaner if other countries were more like America, not less.

■ Saparmurat Niyazov, president-for-life of Turkmenistan, and better known to readers of NR as Akbar Turkmenbashi, or Great Leader of All Turkmen, has capped, or perhaps we should only say furthered, his career by renaming the months of the year, several of them in honor of himself. Henceforth, January will be Turkmenbashi; April will be Kurbansultan Edzhe (named after his mother); and September will be Rukhnama (named after *Spiritual Revival*, his best-selling book of reflections). Cultural-relativist grumps will point out that the Romans named July after Julius Caesar, and August after Augustus. But as the glory of the Turkmens exceeds the deeds of Rome, so the radiance of Akbar Turkmenbashi outshines that of his precursors.

■ Mr. Gurbux Singh served until recently as chairman of Britain's Commission for Racial Equality, a government body devoted to the promotion and safeguarding of racial harmony on the scepter'd isle. Mr. Singh's tenure of that

At the Helm

As we rocket $30 bil
To those sinking in Brazil,
Who—as sure as boas hiss—
Will secrete it with the Swiss,
Please remember, Paul O'Neill
Should be soaked, lashed to the wheel,
But he isn't; all that's there
Is that poltergeist affair
Adam Smith described back when
Stocks were sold by gentlemen.

—W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lofty position came to an end when he was fined $750 by a London court for threatening behavior, following an incident at a cricket match between India and England. India had beaten England by two wickets. Elated by this victory—he appears to have been rooting for India—and rendered somewhat "tired and emotional" (to use the old Fleet Street euphemism) by several glasses of wine, Mr. Singh, on leaving the stadium, accosted a police detail. He addressed some unfortunate and unprintable remarks to one of the officers, then fell to the ground. After being assisted to his feet, he shook his fist at the policemen, saying: "I'll have your jobs. Do you know who I am?" He then attempted to headbutt an officer. Setting aside the hilarity factor in this little story, it is nice to know that these "race relations" busybodies can actually lose their jobs like the rest of us. It has to be done *nicely*, of course: Mr. Singh got a golden handshake of $180,000 from his employers, the taxpayers of Britain.

■ No TV commercials on 9/11? The idea is afoot, and is drawing comment, from Tunku Varadarajan of the *Wall Street Journal*—"silly and unhelpful"—to James Bowman on NRO—"however 'respectfully done' . . . an advertisement in such circumstances is a command to stop thinking about the dead and start thinking about laundry detergent." Is it too soon to be thinking about the dead, when the war on their killers is still unfinished? When, in other words, more are yet to die? That sobering thought did not prevent President Lincoln from speaking at Gettysburg in November 1863, four months after the battle, and almost a year and a half before the war's end. Lincoln on that occasion reminded his listeners of "the unfinished work" and "the great task remaining": no mere rhetorical flourishes, but a sober assessment of what lay ahead. If we can remember that on September 11, it won't matter whether or not people are thinking of detergent.

■ The U.S. Navy has belatedly promoted Gulf War combat hero Robert Stumpf to captain, seven years after the Senate Armed Services Committee bowed to feminist pressure and leaned on the service to deny him any promotion or command. Stumpf had the misfortune of being at the infamous 1991 Tailhook convention in Las Vegas. Although four separate investigations failed to find any evidence that he was involved in sexual harassment, the ensuing witch-hunt demanded his sacrifice. Republican and Democratic senators alike shamefully appeased the feminist gods (goddesses?). His career in shambles, Stumpf left the Navy in 1996 and has since flown for Federal Express. The Bush administration has now recognized that a nation in need of heroes ought to treat them honorably.

"A Masterpiece of Historical Fiction..."
— New York *Daily News*

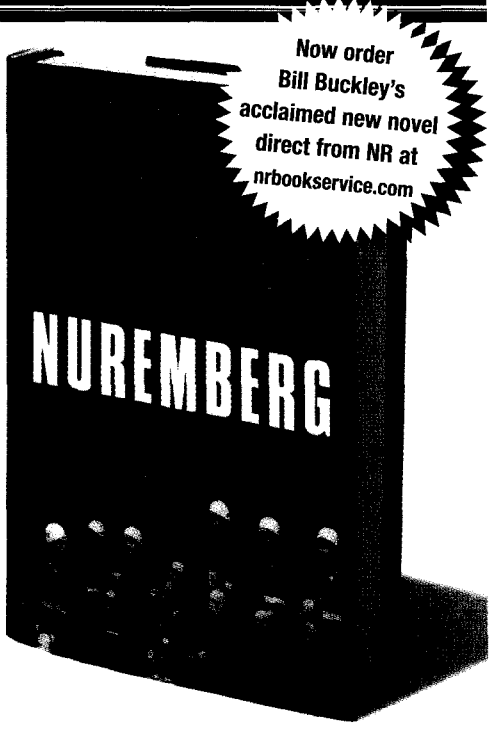
A brainy thriller. Fast moving and based on historical events only all too real. The dialogue (always one of this author's strong points) is crisp and revelatory, and the dramatic momentum of the final hundred pages has a tumbling intensity. Literate, absorbing, and thought provoking. Buckley at his best.
—*Kirkus Reviews*

[Q]uintessential Buckley: provocative, fast moving, sharply focused on unwelcome moral questions, erudite even when it tries not to be. The final chapters crackle with twists and surprises, and the conclusion is compelling.
—*The Baltimore Sun*

Buckley knows what makes a novel tick.
—*The Denver Post*

Within the flexible boundaries of a novel that has substance, style, and a firm grip on the plot, Buckley has fashioned a story of action against a real historical background. Before the powerful ending, every thread has been pulled remorselessly tight. Buckley's 14th novel is one of his best.
—*Library Journal*

Buckley displays his unmatched talent for fictionalizing key historical moments in this masterful account of the infamous trials.
—*Booklist*



NOW ON SALE IN BOOKSTORES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ Caesar Barber, a 56-year-old Bronx maintenance worker, has filed suit against McDonald's, Burger King, Wendy's, and Kentucky Fried Chicken, alleging that they are to blame for his obesity. "They said '100 percent beef.' I thought that meant it was good for you," explains Barber, who has eaten at fast-food restaurants four to five times a week since the 1950s. "I trace it all back to the high fat, grease, and salt; all back to McDonald's, Wendy's, Burger King—there was no fast food I didn't eat, and I ate it more often than not because I was single, it was quick, and I'm not a very good cook." With so many parties clearly responsible for his present ills, however, we marvel at Barber's restraint in asking only the four fast-food giants for damages. Do all those health clubs—whose ads failed to present regular exercise as a sufficiently attractive option—bear none of the guilt? Or the cooking schools that never recruited him? And what about the millions of women who, by failing to marry him, left him vulnerable to the depredations of Ronald McDonald and the Hamburglar in the first place?

■ British pop star George Michael has opinions about world affairs. To share those opinions with the rest of us, he has released a song titled "Shoot the Dog," with an accompanying music video. Highlights: George W. Bush tickling a Tony Blair-faced poodle on the White House lawn. The singer goosing Her Majesty the Queen. The singer riding a missile into Cherie Blair's bedroom, stripping to a leopard-skin thong, and proposing intimacy to her. The song's lyrics include the observation that: "There's somethin' 'bout that Bush that ain't right." Invited to explain himself, Mr. Michael offered the further observations that: "I consider the American government bullying," and "Americans are very reactionary right now." He blamed widespread criticism of himself and his silly opinions on "homophobia." (Mr. Michael has been open about his homosexuality since an unfortunate episode with a Los Angeles policeman in a public lavatory four years ago.) So: A star of the pop-music world is an infantile lefty with a dirty mind, who responds to mockery with victimological whining. File under: "Dog bites man."

■ Charlton Heston has been many things in his long career: a star; more important, an actor of great power and tact, from the broad canvas of *Ben-Hur*, to the cameos of Kenneth Branagh's *Hamlet* or the remake of *Planet of the Apes*; a fine writer, as those who read his memoir, *In the Arena*, or his appreciation of Orson Welles, excerpted from it in NATIONAL REVIEW (Feb. 3, 1992), know; a man of principle, whether supporting civil rights in Selma or Washington, or the right to keep and bear arms at the NRA; and a friend of this magazine. Now he has stepped forward in a new and difficult part, announcing to the world and his fans that he has "symptoms . . . consistent with Alzheimer's." He asks for no sympathy, expresses gratitude for being an American, for interpreting great words, and for living not one life but many, and he closes his statement with the great actor's valedictory, Prospero's lines from *The Tempest*: "We are such stuff as dreams are made on, and our little life is rounded with a sleep." All true, for men as well as actors. While we live, we will not forget his talent, his devotion, and his grit.

IRAQ

Decision Time

SEN. JOSEPH BIDEN, Democrat from Delaware, says that national security adviser Condoleezza Rice promised him that there would be no "October Surprise." If Rice meant merely that the administration would not time an invasion of Iraq to influence the midterm elections, the promise is unobjectionable. If she meant that action against Iraq is being put off until after the elections so as *not* to influence them, the promise seems imprudent. Electoral considerations should not affect our military strategy either way.

The administration may fear that any strike on Iraq in September or October would be taken as politically motivated and that this perception would undermine bipartisan support for the war. No doubt the left-most elements of the Democratic party would accuse President Bush of using the military for base reasons. But the public would trust him to have done the right thing, and Democrats who made such charges would do so at their own political peril. If the administration moves against Iraq, it will have the congressional support it needs.

Should the administration get that support on record before taking any action? There are those who argue that it has no legal obligation to do so. The Gulf War never ended as a matter of law; there was a cease-fire agreement (which the Iraqi regime has violated) but no treaty. The law authorizing the Gulf War remains in effect. It was the basis for President Clinton's 1998 "Desert Fox" campaign of bombings, and it is the basis for the continuing American enforcement of the "no fly" zones over Iraq.

This is not merely a legal point. In considering whether to overthrow the Iraqi regime, it is important to remember that a campaign to do so would not be a move from peace to war. It would be a ratcheting up of our existing conflict. American fighter pilots fly daily over Iraq. Americans have already liberated much of northern Iraq. Recognition of this context makes nonsense of many of the arguments against regime change, such as the arguments based on the inviolability of Iraqi "sovereignty."

To move to change the Iraqi regime is, nonetheless, a fateful step that deserves to be debated by Congress. Whether or not President Bush has a legal obligation to get new congressional authorization for this campaign, he would be wise to do so. The worst possible situation for him, and for the country, would occur if we hit a bad patch in the war and congressional leaders, with no responsibility for having authorized the fighting, could carp from the sidelines. We

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are seeing an evasion of responsibility even now. Congressmen are speaking gravely of the need for debate over Iraq. But that debate has so far been empty, since congressmen are generally declining to take a position for or against new military action. No one, after all, is asking them to declare themselves.

It is sometimes argued that a congressional vote for war would take away the element of surprise from our military. But surely Saddam Hussein is already planning for an American attack. The graver question is whether the Iraqis would attack us as soon as Congress, by authorizing military action or preparing to authorize it, made it clear that regime change was coming. A resolution of support for military action can therefore only be brought up when we are ready to defend against or to pre-empt such an attack.

If it is possible for us to reach that level of preparedness soon, a congressional vote should be held during election season. What to do about Iraq is the most important question before the country. Candidates for high office should be forced to make their views known, and citizens should be able to evaluate them accordingly when they go to vote.

In deciding when to attack Iraq, the chief consideration for President Bush should not be the timing of the elections. What he should be, and no doubt is, thinking about is the truth of his own words from the "axis of evil" speech: Time is not on our side.

TAXES

Bring Back Dividends

THERE is a silver lining to the hysteria with which Washington has greeted the recent corporate scandals: Politically, the new investor class is now triumphant. Everyone in Congress now at least professes to be the shareholder's friend. No one denigrates investors as the undeserving rich. Moreover, Congress is willing to enact legislation that it thinks will help protect shareholders from corrupt corporate managements.

It's time to put this friendship to the test—by asking Congress if it is willing to protect shareholders from Washington, too. The federal tax code is heavily biased against investment and toward consumption. The overtaxation of corporate dividends is one of the worst manifestations of this bias. Individuals pay income tax on dividends even though those dividends come out of corporate income that has already been taxed. That's why dividend yields have been anemic in recent years.

This overtaxation encourages companies to rely on debt financing. It also leads them to retain earnings that would, if not for the taxes, be distributed directly to shareholders. This tendency, in turn, impairs the market's ability to discipline corporate managements. Investors who receive large dividends know

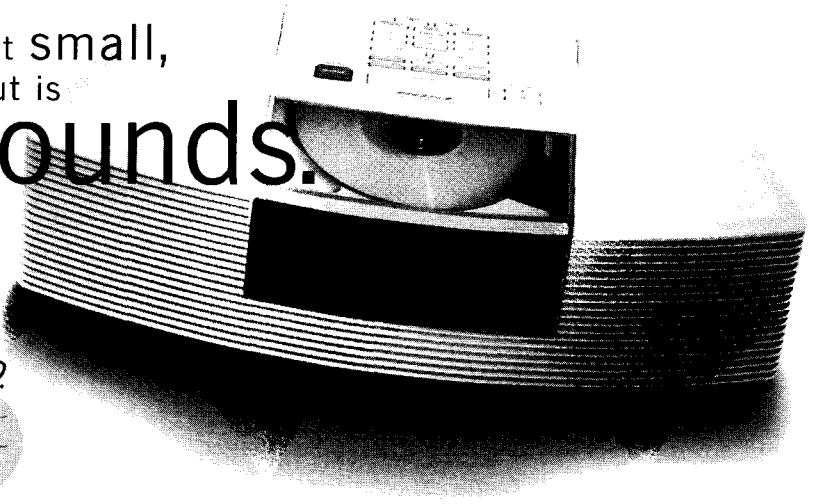
The Bose® Wave® radio/CD. When we designed the Wave® radio/CD, we spent over a year making it one of the smallest, most compact systems available. One that fits almost anywhere. But despite all that, all anyone seems to talk about is how lifelike its sound is.

What they're really talking about is our patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology. Its unique design means no other system can produce such room-filling sound from such a small enclosure. The result is music that's truly distinctive in its clarity and full, natural sound. So striking, the *Oregonian* called the Wave® radio/CD "one of those little unexplained miracles of acoustic physics."

For Free Shipping order by Sept. 30, 2002.

Experience the lifelike sound of the Bose Wave® radio/CD yourself or choose the Bose Wave® radio without CD player. Both are available directly from Bose, the most respected name in sound. And with our 30-day money-back guarantee, your purchase is entirely risk free. Take advantage of our payment plan and make **12 interest-free monthly payments.*** So why wait? Call today and hear for yourself what everyone's talking about.

To think, all that time making it small, and all anyone talks about is how it sounds.



Call 1-800-539-2073, ext. T9830.

Please specify color when ordering:
Wave® radio/CD: ☐ Platinum White ☐ Graphite Gray
Wave® radio: ☐ Platinum White ☐ Graphite Gray

Name

Address State Zip

☐ Day ☐ Evening Phone Number

Mail to: Bose Corporation, Dept. DMG-T9830, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168.

For information on all our products: www.bose.com/t9830

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©2002 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Wave® radio design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. *Installment payment plan and free shipping offer not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases. Payment plan available on credit card orders only and subject to change without notice. Quote: Wayne Thompson, *Oregonian*, 3/5/99.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that their companies' earnings are real, not the product of accounting manipulations. When dividends are legally discouraged, they cannot serve as a signal of solidity.

Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, three well-respected professors of business and finance suggest that to remedy these problems, dividend payouts be made deductible from corporate income taxes. We would prefer to make dividends exempt from individuals' income taxes. But either policy would put money in the pockets of investors, buoy the markets, and, in the long run, reduce corporate fraud and mismanagement. The mere prospect of tax relief for dividends might be enough to lift the markets.

Some Republicans will, of course, worry about the criticisms that they would get if they proposed a tax cut for dividends. But fighting for an idea they believe in is a better political stance than capitulating to ones they don't—which has been their posture vis-à-vis the bear market and the corporate scandals so far. Sure, liberals can be expected to object to any such proposal on budgetary grounds, although in reality increased capital-gains revenues (from higher stock prices) would offset much of the loss in revenue. And yes, they will also deride lower taxes on dividends as a sop to "the rich." Fine. If Democrats want to define shareholders as their class enemy after all, Republicans should let them.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Your correspondent Horst R. Brakel (N&A, July 1) laments that computer keyboards neglect the umlaut. Please inform him that help is at hand!

Using MS Word with the Arial, CG Times, or Times New Roman font, one can produce the umlaut as follows: Hold down the Alt key and type 0228 to produce ä, 0235 to produce ë, and 0252 to produce ü.

Be sure to have the numbers lock activated, and use the number keypad to type in the numerical sequence.

Yours for international accommodation,
James G. Pastorius Jr.
Richmond, Va.

Dear Mr. Buckley: In a recent N&A, Mr. Horst Brakel bemoaned the absence of umlauted letters on English-language keyboards. Nowadays most word-processing software offers a "special symbol" feature which, when accessed, displays a rich assortment of characters, including those Mr. Brakel wants.

Better, ever since the advent of the machine we call the PC, there has been a built-in access feature for the "upper ASCII" characters. The ones that are for foreign languages are ASCII 128 through 168. To enter one, hold down the Alt key and type the number on the keypad.

A table of codes follows.

Respectfully yours,
Loring Emery
Albuquerque, N.M.

128 Ç	144 É	160 á
129 ü	145 æ	161 í
130 é	146 Æ	162 ó
131 â	147 ô	163 ú
132 ä	148 ö	164 ñ
133 à	149 ò	165 Ñ
134 å	150 û	166 ª
135 ç	151 ù	167 º
136 ê	152 ÿ	168 ¿
137 ë	153 Ö	
138 è	154 Ü	
139 ï	155 ¢	
140 î	156 £	
141 ì	157 ¥	
142 Ä	158 Pt	
143 Å	159 *f*	

Dear Mr. Buckley: To reöpen the diëresis discussion, Mr. Brakel is wrong to accuse computers of limiting one's ability to produce non-standard characters. Computers are veritable—or virtual—type foundries.

Anyone dissatisfied with QWERTY yet disinclined either to resort to a tedious character-insertion procedure or to learn finger-breaking key combinations should get to know what's available from the numeric pad on the right of the keyboard.

For instance, holding down the Alt key while typing 0246 (sequentially) will distinguish a coöp from a coop—just be sure "Num Lock" is on! That em dash was produced with Alt 0151. Alt 0131 is u*f*efull when doing 18th-century parodies. Your spell-checker may carp, but your Spanish friends will appreciate *¿Cómo está usted?* And when you put that ø in Søren, well, somewhere the philosopher will be smiling.

I'm told these number combinations are ANSI codes, but the results I get from my setup (WordPerfect 6.1 running under Windows 95) don't correspond to the ANSI tables found in Windows manuals, so don't take the codes listed above as gospel.

However, it's easy enough to make your own table. Start with Alt 33; for some reason, Windows applications don't produce anything from 0 to 32. For some other reason, at least for me, typing 100–255 produces different results than 0100–0255. Once you've got all the characters, print out an A-list of gems like:

¶ Ç Æ † © ® ™ ß

By the way, if you could enlighten me about ß, I would be in your debt. It's beautiful and I'm dying to use it but I don't even know its name.

John R. Stephenson Jr.
Verona, N.J.

Gentlemen, thank you all. I feel as if I had been given a fresh coat of arms! And the request is made to answer the question of Mr. Stephenson: What is it you call the thing he came up with?

Cordially,

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ COVER STORY ■

America's Best Governor

For Republicans, a Rocky Mountain high

JOHN J. MILLER

"Do you want to hear my favorite CD?" asks Gov. Bill Owens of Colorado, sitting in the passenger seat of his navy-blue Suburban. We're heading from the capitol building in Denver to an Empower America reception in Colorado Springs, and Owens flashes a puckish grin as he reaches for the volume knob. The old Soviet national anthem comes blaring through the speakers. The governor doesn't speak Russian, but he mouths the words to the song anyway. "Nobody else likes this music apparently," he says, after zipping through a series of Communist marching hymns. "What's fun is to think that we beat these bastards."

The Russians have been on Owens's mind ever since President Kennedy went on television to announce the blockade of Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis, which delayed the party for Owens's twelfth birthday. The boy responded by reading everything he could find about the Soviet Union, an experience that turned him, as a teenager, into a committed anti-Communist. In college, he organized students to wear red-white-and-blue armbands to show support for the Vietnam War. Today, the governor is the kind of guy who drinks Coors beer because, as he puts it, "Joe Coors financed a couple of prop planes for the Contras."

One of the books Owens came across as a young man was *Witness*, by Whittaker Chambers. "There was a time when reading Chambers had convinced me that we were on the losing side of history," he says. Yet he himself never grew accustomed to losing. Owens has won every election he's participated in, starting with a race for the state legislature in 1982. Four years ago, he ran for governor, prevailing by fewer than 8,300 votes in an election that saw more than 1.3 million ballots cast. The victory made him Colorado's first Republican governor in 24 years, and this year he's coasting toward an easy re-election.

Gov. Bill Owens by Roman Genn

He's also starting to attract attention outside Colorado. At the Empower America event, Bill Bennett delivered an impromptu tribute: "Governor Owens, you're the best. We really mean it. You've led the way on so many things." A growing number of talent-spotters on the right agree: Owens is America's best governor. His instinctive conservatism on everything from taxes and education to guns and abortion has served him well during his first term, and also has set him apart from an older wave of Republican governors whose reformist impulses have waned. When the Cato Institute's fiscal report card on governors comes out in September, Owens will rank at or near the top—one of just two or three chief executives to earn an A grade.

The 51-year-old Owens is one of the few governors this summer not sweating out their budgets. State governments are projected to face cumulative deficits totaling as much as $40 billion by next year, thanks to what politicians like to call "revenue shortfalls"—but which are more accurately labeled "spending binges." Kansas, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania have already passed tax hikes, with other states sure to follow. With the recession lowering tax receipts everywhere, states are clamoring for congressional bailout packages.

Except in Colorado. "We didn't overspend in the good years," says Owens. That's partly because Colorado can't. The state constitution keeps the size of government from increasing faster than the combined rates of inflation and population growth, unless there's a vote of the people. When this amendment was put before its own vote of the people in 1992 as a ballot initiative, Owens was one of just nine legislators in the 100-member statehouse to support it. More than $2 billion has since been rebated to taxpayers, and state spending has been kept in check.

Owens, of course, deserves only partial credit for that accomplishment. His contribution was to turn it into a powerful argument for permanent tax relief: Owens slashed a series of taxes, including the income tax. When this year's tax receipts were down 13 percent, and the legislature nevertheless passed a budget that increased spending by 7 percent, the governor got out his paring knife: He cut $46 million from the general fund with the line-item veto. In the 16 years before his tenure, Owens's predecessors had used this authority only three times, for cuts totaling a mere $1.5 million. Owens additionally ordered across-the-board spending cuts of 4 percent from each of his departments.

As a Colorado legislator, the future governor made his reputation on education reform. When education bureaucrats accused homeschooled children of truancy, Owens helped pass a bill to protect homeschooling. He's responsible for giving school choice to parents interested in moving their kids across district

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

boundaries. Perhaps most important, he wrote the nation's third charter-school law. A recent Heritage Foundation report singled out Colorado's testing practices as exemplary.

One of the most significant crises to occur on his watch took place a few months after he took office, when two students murdered twelve of their classmates and one teacher at Columbine High School on April 20, 1999. Owens has always been a supporter of gun rights, and the massacre occurred just as the legislature was debating gun laws, including a bill supported by Owens to make Colorado a concealed-carry state. The anti-gun lobby seized upon Columbine as a political opportunity, but the governor played defense and all the gun controllers got was a ballot initiative requiring background checks for gun-show purchases (which passed). "That's the standard we had in place for Sears and Wal-Mart," says Owens, who supported the measure. "It sounded reasonable." A few critics accused Owens of selling out, though it seems a small concession—and it left the gun controllers deeply dissatisfied. The governor continues to push for a concealed-carry law, and he may get it depending on how a few local elections turn out this year.

Owens has gone on offense as well. Since Colorado's constitution prevents the state from financing abortions, Planned Parenthood has segregated its abortion division from the rest of its organization, which receives state funds. Or at least that's what it claims. When an outside auditor discovered that the group was secretly subsidizing abortions through a set of accounting gimmicks, Owens—a pro-life Catholic—cut it off last December. Planned Parenthood hissed and screamed and the decision caused a stir in the local press, but the governor has stood firm.

Owens also has provided paycheck protection to Colorado's 50,000 public employees, which means that their union dues are no longer automatically withheld by the state and channeled into union accounts. "If the members have to sign up each year, it's going to make labor leaders much more responsive to the rank and file," says Owens. "They won't focus on ancillary things like politics, but on retention and marketing." They'll have to work harder, too. They've already lost thousands of members and have suffered a severe blow to their finances because of Owens's policy.

The smart politician who is also a principled conservative is a rare breed, which is why the conservative movement should take advantage of those few who come along. Which leads naturally to the question: What's in the cards for Bill Owens? He'll win reelection this year handily, but then he's term-limited. There's a chance that Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a 69-year-old Republican, won't run again in 2004. Barring an Owens candidacy, the early favorite to succeed Campbell would be Rep. Mark Udall, a Democrat. Asked about the seat, Owens says, "I expect to fill out my term as governor." Convincing him to abandon his current office probably would take heavy lobbying from the White House.

■

In January 2007, Owens will be 56 years old and looking for a job.

■

Of course, there aren't many pols who have been both governor and senator who didn't prefer being governor—and Owens knows it. So what else might he do? At the end of his second term, in January 2007, he'll be 56 years old and looking for a job.

One can't resist asking the Big Question, even though Owens is just a first-term governor and 2008 seems far away: Would he ever consider running for president? Owens immediately mentions his kids—he has three of them, and the youngest will still be at home in 2008. The governor is serious enough about his family life that he and his wife quit the governor's mansion after a year and a half because their children were unhappy there.

But would he run for president? "I haven't been asked that before," he finally says. "I've always tried to do a good job, and I've learned the future takes care of itself. It also rewards you."

A good enough answer. For now. **NR**

■ **POLITICS** ■

Out of the Doldrums

What President Bush has done well, he should do across the board

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

WHAT explains the recent tentative but unmistakable upsurge of antiwar feeling on the left and center-left of American politics? Admittedly, that feeling is scattered unevenly on the left side of the spectrum—unevenly but not quite randomly. It is felt most strongly, or at least expressed most candidly, by those who are not standing for election. The *New York Times* editorial page, Democratic National Committee chairman Terry McAuliffe, etc., all take a grudging tone toward the idea of removing Saddam Hussein from power. (Even Republican House majority leader Dick Armey meets this standard; stepping down after this Congress, he has now given voice to the antiwar skepticism that has real, if modest, support on the right.) They cite the military difficulties of intervention; they exaggerate the hostility of U.S. allies to it; they demand a national debate, a congressional authorization, a pause for reflection. And in general they give the impression of wanting to divert any U.S. action into a cul-de-sac of second thoughts without taking the bold and perhaps unpopular step of opposing it outright.

Some on the antiwar left are doubtless expressing their true feelings after a long, frustrating silence born of awe at the popular reaction to September 11. They popped their heads briefly over the peace barricades to warn cautiously of a "quagmire" in Afghanistan. Then, when the "quagmire" became a cakewalk, they retreated into a further period of silence. But their various instincts—inverted patriotism, a kind of promiscuous and irresistible sympathy with the Third World (what the French call *tiers-*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mondisme), a hostility to all things military—have irresistibly eroded their political prudence. So they raise a series of objections to U.S. intervention.

With most of the new critics, however, it is political prudence itself that is driving their antiwar doubts. They sense that whatever the short-term electoral risks of opposing an assault on Iraq—the fear that the Democrats would be harmed by an antiwar stance in this November's midterm elections—the war on terrorism is helping the Bush administration to stay popular amidst so many other troubles. Just recently, indeed, the DNC chairman attacked President Bush for "exploiting" the war for partisan purposes. Freud would have recognized this charge as a textbook case of "projection": exploiting the war for partisan purposes is what any DNC chairman would naturally do if given the opportunity. Since he lacks that opportunity in opposition, however, he does the next best thing: He accuses the other chap of partisan exploitation. Ingenious, really.

And not merely ingenious. The political calculation underlying this charge is largely correct. Taking a firm stance on the war on terrorism, in particular on Iraq, is almost the only popular policy the Bush administration is pursuing—or, to refine the charge, the only policy that reflects conservative or Republican values that also happens to be popular. On government spending, the administration has acquiesced in a Democratic spending spree by failing to veto rash appropriations. It has embraced an education bill, stripped of such conservative reforms as vouchers, that increases federal spending and the federal role. Even in the aftermath of September 11, it has continued to promote an amnesty for illegal immigrants, only to be politically outbid by the Democrats. It has created a vast new government Department of Homeland Security apparently without realizing that reorganizing government departments is no substitute for changing failed policies. Following the rash of corporate scandals it weakly acquiesced in a Democratic program of greater bureaucratic regulation instead of fashioning a distinctly conservative set of reforms to transfer power from managers to investors. It has either avoided cultural politics altogether or taken the wrong side when forced to choose: It has both defended racial preferences in the courts and quadrupled federal spending on bilingual education. And its principal conservative achievement, namely the tax cut, is back-loaded and thus vulnerable to repeal or amendment owing to congressional losses, the growing budget deficit, or possibly the impact of further stock-market contractions on public opinion.

There are, of course, specific explanations for these various retreats. But a failure to gain ground across such a broad front must also have a larger and more strategic explanation. Where does this systemic timidity come from? What are its sources? Let me suggest the following:

One. President Bush came to Washington promising to implement "civility" and to avoid harsh ideological combat.

Lowest Rates. Guaranteed.

Refinance

Purchase

Cash-Out

No Money Down

Consoldate Your Bills

CATHOLIC HOME LOAN

800-270-8565

A portion of our profits are given to charities chosen by you.

www.catholichomeloan.com

Catholic Home Loan is a registered service mark of Catholic Home Loan, LLC
Not all loans are available in all states. Catholic Home Loan LLC 6808 Gaston Ave.Dallas, Texas 75215. Information subject to change without notice. Licensed by the Department of Corporations under the California Residential Mortgage Lending Act; Licensed Real Estate Broker: California DRE; Illinois Residential Mortgage Licensee; Massachusetts Mortgage Lender #ML 1830; New Hampshire Banking Dept. License Numbers 8458-MB & 8459-MHL; Not all programs available in all states. This is not an offer to enter into an interest rate lock-in agreement under Minnesota law. Equal Housing Opportunity: 3200 Park Center Drive 105, Costa Mesa, CA 92695
Catholic Home Loan is a nationwide lender. Restrictions apply.

An Equal Housing Lender

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unfortunately, "civility" is not something that one side in politics can deliver—any more than one person can establish a system of social etiquette by himself displaying good manners. That merely ensures he will eat last as others beat him in the social-Darwinist race to the buffet. In this case Bush, interpreting civility as a form of rhetorical bipartisanship, has sought to avoid clashes of political principle; whereas the Democrats, in particular Sen. Tom Daschle, have wrapped harsh political stances in soft language and honeyed words. The words "We want to work with the president on this" should strike fear into any GOP heart, for they introduce Democratic obstruction—at best.

Two. As "civility" is a good thing in the Bush lexicon, so "gridlock" is a bad one. Bush arrived in Washington trumpeting the virtues of positive cooperation over negative attitudes. The symbol of negativism in politics, however, is also one of the president's most important powers: the veto. And because Bush is reluctant to veto legislation and become "President No," he finds himself time and again taking credit for Democratic legislation.

Three. Underlying both civility and the avoidance of gridlock, however, is a deeper political instinct and/or calculation. The Bush dynasty deeply dislikes open conflict, clashes of principle—in short, ideological politics. The first President Bush thought he could improve on the Reagan record by renouncing the unkinder, ungentler policies of his predecessor. What happened then is now, like George the First himself, history. The George W. Bush campaign was, similarly, an implicit repudiation of the Gingrich legacy of sharp-tongued conservatism. But both Reagan and Gingrich made real historical advances for their parties and philosophies: Reagan restored the U.S. economy, won the Cold War, and established America as the greatest power in history; Gingrich controlled public spending and laid the groundwork for both the budget surplus and the long bull market. Gains of that magnitude seem worth enduring a few small irritations for, such as the persistent sneer that Reagan was "stupid" or Gingrich "extreme"—especially since avoiding such political battles has not preserved President Bush from the identical slurs.

Four. No one in the Bush administration seems to have grasped the concept of intellectual "investment"—namely the acceptance that a political leader may have to spend some years propagating an argument before the public understands and accepts it. Focus groups and opinion polls essentially direct politicians to satisfy the current tastes of the voters; they tell them nothing about what the public might be persuaded to accept. Yet almost all major political changes occur when events suddenly confirm what a political leader has been preaching, perhaps in the wilderness, for a decade or two. The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan confirmed the wisdom of Reagan's anti-Communism; the "winter of discontent" backed up Margaret Thatcher's call for the reform of trade-union law; Hitler's seizure of the rump of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 converted appeasers into supporters of Winston Churchill. And even when events are not quite so obliging, a political leader who outlines a clear argument will at a minimum give voters a reason for rallying to him and resisting the policies of his opponents. Daschle's "obstructionism" has, paradoxically, gained more political ground for his party than the president's positive thinking has gained for the GOP.

For all these reasons, Bush's failure to advance a strong and principled case for conservative Republicanism across the board has gravely weakened him and his party. Disraeli once remarked that a majority is the best repartee. For this tongue-tied administration a majority is the only repartee. And it no longer enjoys a majority.

But this failure need be neither fatal nor indefinitely extended. Bush has three advantages. He has taken a strong stand on taxation and, by remaining faithful to it, he can win that political argument easily. With his signing of the bill to ensure that no fetus, once actually out of the womb, can be killed in a "post-abortion," he has shown that the pro-life battle can be fought and won with a combination of political firmness and rhetorical deftness. And in the war on terrorism, he has expressed his deepest instincts—to find that they largely match those of the American people.

In short, where Bush has made the conservative case, he has won the battle. Let him apply that lesson more generally. **NR**

■ AT WAR ■

Clinton the Anti-Terrorist

Ah, 'the permanent campaign'

BYRON YORK

SAXBY CHAMBLISS is a little perplexed. The Republican congressman from Georgia is chairman of the House Subcommittee on Terrorism and Homeland Security and a key player in the congressional investigation into the roots of the September 11 attacks. He knows a lot about the subject. Yet it was not until he read a recent issue of *Time* magazine that he learned that in late 2000 the Clinton administration came up with a new, aggressive, wide-ranging plan to topple the al-Qaeda terrorist network. In an article headlined "Could 9/11 Have Been Prevented?" *Time* reported that top Clinton officials handed the plan to the incoming Bush administration, but, tragically, the Bush team chose not to act until it was too late. The heroes of the article were Richard Clarke, a top anti-terrorism aide who is said to have put together the plan, and Samuel Berger, President Clinton's national security adviser, who is portrayed as a tough-talking hardliner on terrorism.

And that's what has Chambliss perplexed. "I've had Dick Clarke testify before our committee several times, and we've invited Samuel Berger several times," Chambliss says, "and this is the first I've ever heard of that plan." If it was such a big deal, Chambliss wonders, why didn't anyone mention it?

Sources at the White House are just as baffled. In public, they've been careful not to pick fights with the previous administration over the terrorism issue. But privately, they say the *Time* report was way off base. "There was no new plan to topple al-Qaeda," one source says flatly. "No new plan." When asked if there was, perhaps, an *old* plan to top-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ple al-Qaeda, which might have been confused in the story, the source says simply, "No."

The *Time* article, which was the work of a team of 15 reporters, said that after the October 12, 2000, attack that killed 17 American sailors on board the USS *Cole*, Clarke began work on "an aggressive plan to take the fight to al-Qaeda." Clarke reportedly wanted to break up al-Qaeda cells, cut off their funding, destroy their sanctuaries, and give major support to the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance. In addition, *Time* reported, "the U.S. military would start planning for air strikes on the camps and for the introduction of special-operations forces into Afghanistan." It was, in the words of a senior Bush administration official quoted by *Time*, "everything we've done since 9/11."

According to the magazine, Clarke presented the plan to Berger on December 20, 2000, but Berger decided not to act on it. "We would be handing [the Bush administration] a war when they took office," an unnamed former Clinton aide told *Time*. "That wasn't going to happen." Instead, Berger urged his successor, Condoleezza Rice, to take action. To the Clinton team's dismay, the Bush White House did not come up with its own finished plan against al-Qaeda until September 4, 2001.

On its face, the story was a sensational indictment of the Bush administration's response to terrorism. But if the president's critics hoped it would inflict political damage on the Bush White House, it has instead had the opposite effect, backfiring on Clinton's defenders and causing them to back away from the story's main conclusion.

Indeed, even a cursory look at the Clinton administration's record on terrorism raises questions about the article's premise. For example: If there was indeed such a plan, why did the Clinton team wait so long to come up with it?

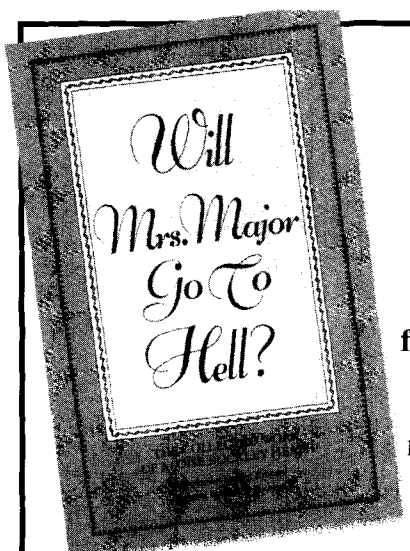
In the past, former Clinton officials have said that they moved into fully engaged anti-terrorism mode after the August 7, 1998, bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. More than 200 people, including twelve Americans, were killed, and an investigation quickly showed the attack to be the work of Osama bin Laden. In an interview with NATIONAL REVIEW last year, Daniel Benjamin, a former National Security Council official, said the Africa bombings were a turning point in the administration's response to terrorism. "I and a whole lot of people basically did very little else other than Osama bin Laden for the next year and a half," Benjamin said.

As he sees himself? by Roman Genn

At the time, top Clinton officials vowed a long, tough campaign. "This is, unfortunately, the war of the future," Secretary of State Madeleine Albright told reporters on August 21, shortly after the U.S. fired cruise missiles at al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan. "This is going to be a long-term battle against terrorists who have declared war on the United States." Other officials, including President Clinton, said similar things.

So why, when by their own account the war unquestionably began in August 1998, did Clinton administration officials wait until December 2000, a few weeks before leaving office, to come up with a plan to fight it? Why was the plan created so late that it could not be implemented but was instead presented to the incoming Bush administration with the admonition, "Here—do this"? There's no answer in the *Time* story.

In addition, the Clinton defenders' account is plagued by some internal contradictions. For example, *Time* says



WILL MRS. MAJOR GO TO HELL?

Tender, poignant, warm, and funny, the collected work of Aloïse Buckley Heath (many originally appeared in *National Review*) makes a wonderful gift. Hilarious vignettes of *real* family values. $16.95/hardcover.

WILL MRS. MAJOR GO TO HELL?
Hardcover/$16.95 each. Please add
$3 shipping/handling charge per order.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ ZIP _____
Number of books: _____

PAYMENT METHOD
☐ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")
Bill to: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa
Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
Total payment $ _____
New York State residents must include sales tax.

Mail to: National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Clinton administration was constrained from taking action in the aftermath of the *Cole* bombing because "the CIA and FBI had not officially concluded [that bin Laden was behind the attack] and would be unable to do so before Clinton left office." But the article also documents the frustrations of John O'Neill, a top FBI official who had "run afoul of Barbara Bodine, then the U.S. ambassador to Yemen, who believed the FBI's large presence was causing political problems for the Yemeni regime." *Time* says that "when O'Neill left Yemen on a trip home for Thanksgiving, Bodine barred his return." It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Clinton administration, for whatever reason, made the investigation more difficult and then claimed it could not act against al-Qaeda because the investigation had not yielded conclusive results.

It didn't quite make sense, and indeed, after the Bush White House denied the *Time* story, some former Clinton officials began to pull back on some of its claims. Now, one of them—who asks not to be named—says *Time* didn't have it quite right. "There were certainly ongoing efforts throughout the eight years of the Clinton administration to fight terrorism," the official says. "It was certainly not a formal war plan. We wouldn't have characterized it as a formal war plan. The Bush administration was briefed on the Clinton administration's ongoing efforts and threat assessments."

That's pretty much what the Bush White House says happened. So why make all the headline-grabbing charges in the first place? More than anything, the article's appearance is evidence of the dogged determination of former Clinton officials to portray their administration as tough on terrorism. Sometimes that public-relations campaign has involved positive defenses of Clinton's record, and sometimes it has involved attacks on the Bush White House. The *Time* piece was the most spectacular example yet of the latter; it was, in Saxby Chambliss's words, "a full-bore shotgun blast at the Bush administration." And even though it missed, there will no doubt be more. For their part, Bush officials say they don't want to "get into this game." But they'd better get used to it. **NR**

■ **AT WAR II** ■

A Time for Kings?

Hashemites and others in the Arab mix

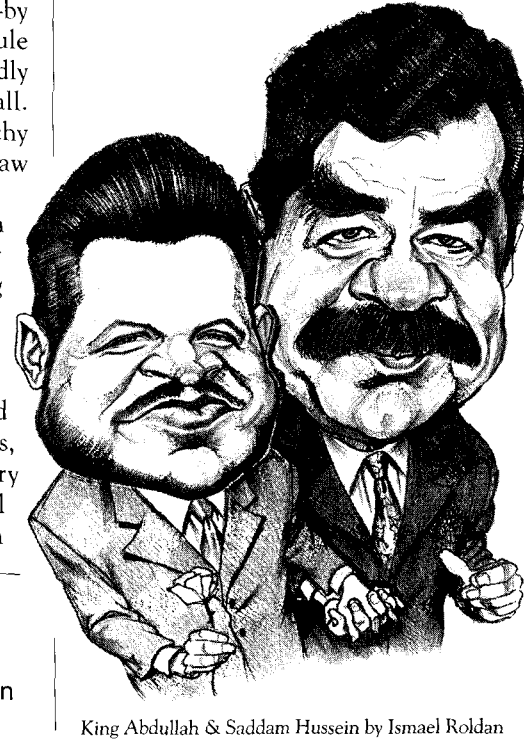
DAVID PRYCE-JONES

WASHINGTON is searching for a successor regime to Saddam Hussein. It is an exercise in political science. Can an even passably democratic government be devised to take the place of a dictator who has stripped his people of decency and trust in others? Iraqis of all sorts are putting themselves forward: dissidents and exiles, former army officers who fled from Saddam in fear of their lives, men of substance certainly. But how representative are they? Why should Iraqis have confidence in self-selected and evidently ambitious leaders whose legitimacy is questionable? This is where the Hashemite family comes in. The last ruler in Baghdad to enjoy legitimacy was a Hashemite, King Faisal II, grandson of the man appointed—imposed, if you will—by the British after World War I to rule Iraq. The legitimacy was admittedly tenuous, but better than none at all. A return to a constitutional monarchy might provide the framework for law and order and national unity.

Communism and Arab socialism almost put paid during the Cold War to monarchy in the Middle East. King Farouk, the gross but witty last king of Egypt, once quipped that soon there would be only five kings left in the world: the King of England and the kings of diamonds, hearts, spades, and clubs. In 1952, revolutionary Egyptian officers, Gamal Abdul Nasser among them, dispatched him on his yacht into exile. Six years later, revolutionary Iraqi officers mercilessly murdered their young king, Faisal II, along with many members of his Hashemite family. With a combination of luck and courage, his first cousin King Hussein of Jordan survived about a dozen conspiracies to kill him in the course of his long reign. The late King Hassan of Morocco was almost King Hussein's equal in surviving assassination attempts. In 1975 King Faisal of Saudi Arabia was shot dead by one of his nephews, and if Osama bin Laden now has his way the entire Saudi royal family is doomed. Another Muslim absolute monarch, Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, was driven off the throne of Iran in 1979 by Islamic fundamentalists.

Whatever ideological credentials they may have boasted, successful revolutionaries in practice kept themselves in power by means of force and the secret police. But even men of that type seem to find it natural to aspire to found a dynasty. In Syria today, Bashar Assad is president only because his father once seized power and eliminated his opponents. Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, Saddam Hussein, and Libya's Muammar Qaddafi are all grooming sons as successors. Lack of legitimacy does not inhibit them.

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor whose books include *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*, available in a new edition from Ivan R. Dee.



King Abdullah & Saddam Hussein by Ismael Roldan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The passing of power from one ruler to the next in this personal way is a constant source of instability. Anyone with the will and ambition for it has only to decide to seize power for himself, and so upset the state, to be dispossessed in turn by a rival. The spiral of violence is self-perpetuating. Islamic history is an unrelieved tale of usurpation by means of murder and palace coups and revolution. So it was once in the West, of course, where many a ruling family began as usurpers, and only the hereditary principle and the passage of time brought legitimacy. The evolution of the constitutional arrangements of parliaments, parties, and elections gradually introduced the transfer of power by consent, that cardinal stabilizing virtue of democracy.

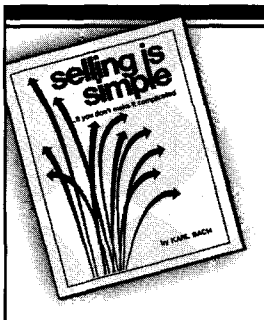
The principle of hereditary monarchy doesn't attract many defenders in a world of equal opportunity and anti-elitism. But it may have a special role to play when a totalitarian or police state collapses, and the successor state has to form in a void where political legitimacy is an unknown quantity. After the death of Franco, for instance, Spain was open to a right-wing coup and possible civil war. The restoration of constitutional monarchy under King Juan Carlos instead laid the basis of a successful democracy. The return of King Simeon to Bulgaria provided a sense of national identity and continuity, whereas King Michael of Romania failed to take his chance to do the same, and his country is suffering as a result. In Afghanistan, reinstated from exile in spite of his advanced age, Zahir Shah has been a symbol of unity. Many Iranians hope that Reza Pahlavi, the former shah's son, will one day play that role in an Iran liberated from the mullahs. Even post-Soviet Russia has spasms of Romanov nostalgia.

The Hashemite family has a legitimacy which derives from Islam. They claim descent from Hashem, a forebear of the prophet Muhammad. With this ancestry, as they traditionally asserted in the days of the Ottoman Empire, came the right to rule the holy cities of Mecca and Medina in the Hijaz. The sharif, or head of the family, carried the title of Guardian of the Two Shrines. Toward the end of the 19th century, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, a British Arabist, prophesied that if a man of real ability were to appear in the Hashemite family, he would be sure to find "an almost universal following." The result, Blunt fancifully imagined, would be a "liberal Islam."

Ambitious in the extreme and no sort of "liberal," Sharif Hussein, the then Guardian of the Two Shrines, perceived the outbreak of World War I as his chance to become a future King of the Arabs, and with consummate skill embroiled the Ottoman Turks and the British in his schemes of aggrandizement. In his entry in *Who's Who* he comically recorded among his recreations, "The problems of the Near East," of which he was a prime specimen. In the post-1918 settlement, the British invented the kingdoms of Transjordan (later Jordan) and Iraq for his two sons Abdullah and Faisal I respectively. But the Sharif himself neglected home ground. Unexpectedly, a local rival, Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, soon drove him out of Mecca and Medina into exile and early death, usurped the title of Guardian of the Two Shrines, appointed himself king, and founded the present Saudi dynasty.

Incorporating the Palestinian territory of the West Bank, King Abdullah consolidated Jordan and so further legitimized the rule of his family. In 1951 he was murdered by a Palestinian. His grandson and successor, Hussein, then survived for almost half a century. An honorable man, he ran what might be called a benign police state. The murder in 1958 of his cousin Faisal II put an end to a proposed Hashemite federation of Jordan and Iraq. At the time of the 1967 war, though, King Hussein allied himself to Nasser and so lost the West Bank. In the 1991 Gulf War, he sided with Saddam. Mistakes at this level cost him dearly. For years his heir was his brother, Crown Prince Hassan, but a few days before his death in 1999 he abruptly decided instead to bequeath the throne to his eldest son, Abdullah II, a young man in his mid 30s without much experience outside the army.

Crown Prince Hassan accepted his disinheritance gracefully. Now 55, he has the manners, and even the appear-



The most important book about salesmanship ever written ...

Selling is Simple...

...if you don't make it complicated!

by Karl Bach only $19.95*

**But read this ad for an even better deal!*

Karl Bach was a penniless and uneducated German-Jewish immigrant. He spoke very little English and, to top it off, he had a physical impediment. Not being able to get any other job, he enlisted as a Fuller Brush salesman. Within two months, he became the most productive salesman Fuller had ever had. From a standing start, he had developed irresistible sales techniques. He applied those methods and insights to the life insurance business. Within three years, he became one of the most successful life insurance producers in the US. He founded and became principal owner of the San Francisco Life Insurance Company, which eventually merged with the Philadelphia Life Insurance Company. He became a very, very wealthy man. In this book, Karl reveals his enormously successful salesmanship methods.

If you are in any area of selling, you should be able to at least quadruple your performance by reading this groundbreaking book and following its precepts. There is no reason why you shouldn't be as successful as Karl Bach -- you have so much more going for yourself than he did. We are the publishers of this book and can offer it for only **$19.95**. ***But we have an even better deal:** ***Buy two books for $39.90 and we will send you a third one, with our compliments -- absolutely FREE!*** If you are in any area of sales and want to multiply your performance and your income, you owe it to yourself to buy this book. You and your family will be glad you did. Order it today!

Order directly from the publisher by toll-free phone (800) 600-2777, by fax (415) 356-7804, or by mail. Mention order code **1094Y378** and give Visa/MC # and expiration date, or send check for $19.95. Add $4.95 shipping/insurance, plus sales tax for CA delivery. 30 days refund/return, except for shipping/insurance.

advance books
division of jomira/advance
470 Third St., #211, San Francisco, CA 94107

Order by toll-free phone: (800) 600-2777 or (fastest!) by fax: (415) 356-7804
Visit our website at www.jomirabooks.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ance, of an English gentleman. His voice is positively fruity. He wrote, or at least put his name to, a short but favorable book about Christians in the Middle East. His wife is a vivacious Pakistani. A longtime fixture at international gatherings, he can be relied on for common sense. Expectation is gathering around him. Recently he caused a sensation by turning up without warning at a conference in London of Iraqi opposition leaders, many of them ex-generals. Discreetly, he claimed to be present merely as an observer, but he could not have made it plainer that if the position were open after the downfall of Saddam, he would be available to be king of Iraq. Stung, King Abdullah said that his uncle had "blundered," and as a result "we're all picking up the pieces." Rushing in panic to Washington and London, Abdullah is currently pleading that war against Iraq would be a "tremendous mistake" and "the whole thing might unravel." Rumors circulate that he is in Saddam's pocket. Probably he is afraid that a Hashemite federation of Jordan and Iraq might after all be created, with his uncle becoming supremo.

Other claimants descend from the Iraqi branch of the Hashemites. One is Prince Adil ibn Faisal, an eccentric character at present detained in Morocco for using false identity papers. He claims that Iraqi opposition groups are persecuting him. More plausible is Sharif Ali bin Hussein, whose mother was Faisal II's aunt. Just two years old at the time of the 1958 massacre of his branch of the royal family, he has been a banker in London, and now has a Constitutional Monarchy Movement backing him. He too attended the recent London conference.

Political decisions in Washington, and facts on the ground in the Middle East, will ultimately resolve all the jockeying for position. Restoration of a Hashemite to the throne of Iraq has its logic at a time when rulers and boundaries are in question. But if justice were properly to be done, Saudi Arabia ought to be broken up, and the Hijaz and the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina returned to the Hashemites, who have a more legitimate title to rule than the Saudi family. There might then be a "liberal" Islam after all. That would be a truly historic vindication. **NR**

■ **ELECTION '02** ■

Smith vs. Sununu

An intra-GOP war in New Hampshire

BERNADETTE MALONE

JUST wait: If Rep. John E. Sununu defeats two-term conservative incumbent Bob Smith in New Hampshire's Republican senatorial primary on September 10, the national media will prematurely cheer: "New England's rebel state is finally becoming more like its liberal neighbors."

But a Sununu victory would be no triumph for liberalism in New Hampshire, the only East Coast state north of Virginia that Al Gore lost in 2000. Just because Smith has one of the most right-wing voting records in the U.S. Senate doesn't mean Sununu is to his left. In fact, some of the people most eager to force Smith into retirement are conservatives who want the Granite State to retain its rock-ribbed Republican representation.

Why do they want to replace Smith with Sununu? Because Democratic governor Jeanne Shaheen—running for the Senate—will be a tough general-election opponent this November. And because Bob Smith has a Gary Bauer problem.

Remember Bauer? The former Family Research Council president ran to the right of George W. Bush on abortion in 2000. But he moved leftward on issues such as Social Security privatization and campaign-finance reform. After Bauer withdrew from the race, he endorsed the least pro-life of all the Republican presidential candidates: John McCain, who objects to overturning *Roe* v. *Wade* and who tagged the Christian Coalition as "evil." Bauer has been little heard from on national politics since.

Smith, who like Bauer ran to the right of Bush in the 2000 contest, has suffered a similar nosedive. After verbally eviscerating the GOP in July 1999 for tolerating pro–partial-birth-abortion Republicans such as former New Jersey governor Christie Whitman and former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani, Smith left the party to run for president as a right-wing independent. Four months later—having barely registered in national polling—he ended his bid and returned to the GOP.

His homecoming occurred the week after Rhode Island senator John Chafee's unexpected death opened up the Environment and Public Works Committee chairmanship. Smith's timing was a total coincidence, he told Granite Staters. But after Sen. Trent Lott reinstated Smith's seniority, he took over Chafee's chairmanship and began to position himself as a crowd-pleasing moderate—perhaps hoping that Granite Staters would forget his embarrassing presidential stunt.

Observers were stunned by Smith's leftward lurch on environmental issues—opposing Bush's Alaskan oil-drilling proposal and musing about carbon dioxide and global warming. Combine this with the senator's animal-rights stances—

Granite State GOPers John E. Sununu and Bob Smith by Roman Genn

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accepting money from the militant head of PETA and even needling prospective Miss New Hampshires about accepting a fur coat as a pageant gift—and you can see why many conservatives lost heart.

Oh, and now, three years later, Smith is campaigning for reelection, aided by Whitman fundraisers and Giuliani television commercials.

This kind of voter "outreach" hasn't helped Smith any more than it helped Gary Bauer. Most independent polls show him lagging behind Sununu in primary match-ups—and more importantly, behind liberal Shaheen.

Concerned that Smith was no longer carrying water for the Right—and instead was taking on water—a coalition of grassroots and establishment Republicans quietly suggested he exit elective politics gracefully. Take a cabinet position in the Bush administration, they suggested. When Smith resisted, a "Draft Sununu" campaign was started by prominent state conservatives such as former governor Steve Merrill and former representative Chuck Douglas.

Some would never have guessed that a man named after George H. W. Bush's rough-edged chief of staff—who tried to finesse the first Bush's tax hike—would be the solution to a conservative's dilemma.

But John Sununu's eldest son (who is said to have inherited his mother's people skills) is both solid on policy and very electable. His image fits well with New Hampshire's growing high-tech population: a 38-year-old suburban husband and father with a degree in engineering and an MBA. Methodical but affable behind wire-framed glasses, Sununu has the kind of personality that promises no surprises or embarrassments. (Smith's blustering presence, on the other hand, suggests that at any moment he might break into a floor speech about the treatment of circus elephants or the need for retirement homes for monkeys. Yes, he has given soliloquies on both topics.)

"When you become that detached from reality, it's time to come back to New Hampshire from Washington," state representative Tony Soltani says of Smith and his quixotic presidential run. Soltani—known for battling activist judges and partial-birth-abortion advocates in New Hampshire's 400-member state house—endorsed Sununu in July. Some of his right-leaning colleagues in the legislature, he explains, are sticking with Smith because of their distaste for contentious primaries—especially those that suck up Republican dollars.

The highest-profile statewide conservative to endorse Smith over Sununu is Gordon Humphrey—the former senator who this year is pursuing his second consecutive gubernatorial bid. But when Humphrey first announced his decision to the media, he sounded pessimistic and obligated: "[Smith] had the guts to support me [in my last race], so I'm going to have the guts to support him."

That some moderate, pro-choice Republicans—such as former Sen. Warren Rudman—are boosting Sununu might give conservatives pause. But his socially conservative credentials check out: National Right to Life gives both Sununu and Smith grades of 100 percent. Though the National Rifle Association is sticking with the incumbent, it gave Sununu an A+ in 2000 and awards him a lifetime rating of 100 percent. The American Conservative Union actually gives Sununu a higher lifetime rating than Smith. (Sununu rates a 94, Smith a 92.)

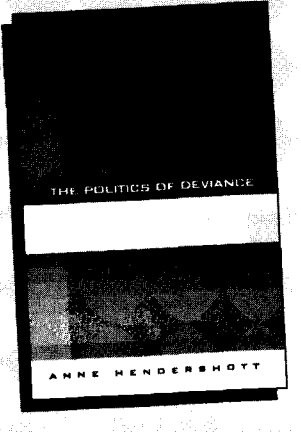
Certainly, there's a difference in emphasis between the two Republicans: Smith leads with social issues, Sununu with economic ones. Implementing a flat tax, privatizing Social Security, and expanding free trade are this MIT and Harvard graduate's goals for the next decade. Asked whom he most admires in Washington politics, Sununu names Phil Gramm—the retiring senator from Texas whose bona fides as a social conservative were sometimes overshadowed by his passion for free-market economics.

On taxes, energy, and trade, Sununu places ahead of Smith in free-market philosophy, which explains why the liberal League of Conservation Voters calls him one of this year's "Dirty Dozen" in Congress. And why the Chamber of Commerce and the Business Industry Political Action Committee have taken the unusual step of endorsing the primary challenger over the incumbent. The supply-side Club for Growth gave Sununu

Bernadette Malone is a columnist for the Manchester (N.H.) *Union Leader* and an editor at Regnery Publishing in Washington, D.C.

The Politics of Deviance

by Anne Hendershott



"Sad reading, this tale of how the oppressed of one era became the oppressors of the next."

–Washington Times

$26.95, 194 pages

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO DEVIANCE?

Until the 1960s, sociologists confidently asserted that a willingness to identify deviance—what constitutes inappropriate and destructive behavior—was vital to clarifying moral boundaries and helping us agree on issues of right and wrong. But today, after three decades of lacerating debate about values and questioning of authority, the subject has virtually disappeared from sociology's radar screen. As Daniel Patrick Moynihan famously said, deviance has been "defined down."

In *The Politics of Deviance*, Anne Hendershott, herself a leading sociologist, discusses this major change in the way we see the world. How did we "medicalize" what was once proscribed behavior? How did pressure groups assume a central role in changing our views of behavior that was once taboo? Why do we now romanticize the transgression of "border crossers"?

In examining issues such as mental illness, drug addiction, teenage sexual promiscuity and pedophilia—and the groups working to redefine the way we view them—Hendershott shows the politics of deviance at work. Arguing against the grain of her own discipline, she shows how definitions of deviance based on reason, not political advocacy, are indispensable to sustaining cultural values and reaffirming the moral ties that bind us together.

ENCOUNTER BOOKS www.encounterbooks.com

At bookstores everywhere or call 800-786-3839

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a $1,000 contribution, though many of its members are still fond of Smith. But, says co-founder Steve Moore, "With Phil Gramm retiring, it will be healthy for the Senate to have John Sununu as a member."

Sununu has a few other surprising endorsements in his corner: the Senate Republican Conference chairman, Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania; the vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence committee, Richard Shelby of Alabama; the ranking member on Appropriations, Ted Stevens of Alaska; and the ranking member on Small Business, Kit Bond of Missouri. Senate minority leader Lott has attended senatorial fundraisers for both Smith and Sununu.

How could these high-ranking members of the gentleman's club turn on their colleague, Bob Smith? Needing to net only one seat to regain control of their chamber this November, Republican senators are praying New Hampshire remains in the GOP column. Smith might fancy himself a "comeback kid" based on his tight races in the past, but he has never been this far behind in polls for such a long time.

There are signs President Bush also hopes Sununu will emerge the winner on September 10. Although he issued a blanket endorsement of all Republican incumbents this year, he has made no effort to contain the pro-Sununu overtures going on around him.

After adviser Karl Rove attended a fundraiser for Smith in New Hampshire, chief of staff Andy Card went to the state and personally endorsed Sununu. EPA director Christie Whitman attended a May 31 fundraiser for Smith in Boston, but HUD secretary Mel Martinez visited New Hampshire with Sununu in July. Bush's father hosted a New Hampshire fundraiser for Sununu in 2001, and both he and Barbara Bush wrote $1,000 checks to his Senate campaign this June. Even Dan Quayle has jumped into the fray and endorsed Sununu over Smith.

On the one hand, such divisions on the right can make this primary feel like a conservative's nightmare. But consider: On September 10, New Hampshire Republicans will choose between two men who are pro-gun and pro-life, and who proudly call themselves conservatives. If only all of New England were like New Hampshire. **NR**

■ **RELIGION** ■

What Juan Diego Saw

The story of a new saint

ROD DREHER

On July 31, Pope John Paul II appeared before more than a million cheering, weeping Catholics in Mexico City, and declared a 16th-century Indian named Juan Diego, believed to be part of one of the most famous miracles in Christian history, a saint of the Roman Catholic Church. There are those within the Church, though, who believe the Holy Father has bequeathed to the Church a holy ghost.

That is, they claim there is no solid reason to believe that the Indian shepherd to whom the beloved Virgin of Guadalupe is said to have appeared in 1531 existed at all. It's not just the usual suspects making these claims, but also Catholic priests who once served at Mexico City's basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe—including its longtime abbot. In December 1999, a Mexican newspaper made public a letter the clerics had written to John Paul, asking him to delay Juan Diego's canonization until more evidence could be marshaled.

The abbot, Guillermo Schulenberg, was warned by Mexico's primate that he was risking excommunication by publicly doubting the existence of Juan Diego. And Schulenberg became an instant figure of scorn among Mexicans, for whom devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe is at the core of both religious and national consciousness. True story: An American Catholic priest friend serving in a Mexican village told me that a Protestant evangelist came to town, and roused a crowd of evangelical converts by condemning the Catholic Church; but when he spoke out against the Guadalupe apparition, the people drove him out of town.

To understand what Guadalupe means to Mexicans, you have to consider the tremendous religious and cultural significance of what is said to have happened on December 9–12, 1531. Juan Diego was the baptismal name of Cuautlactoactizin, one of the relatively few Indians to embrace Christianity after the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores. As the story goes, the Virgin appeared to Juan Diego on a hill where a temple to an Aztec goddess once stood, and asked him in the Nahuatl language to approach Bishop Juan de Zumarraga to build a church in her honor there. The bishop did not believe the poor Indian, and asked him to bring back evidence. On December 12, the Virgin appeared and showed him a rosebush in full bloom atop the hill, a highly unusual event in the middle of winter. She instructed him to gather the roses to bring to the bishop as proof.

When Juan Diego appeared before Zumarraga, he opened his cloak, called a tilma, to spread the roses onto the floor—and the bishop and others were stunned to see an iridescent image of the Virgin imprinted on the interior of the tilma. This same five-by-three-foot tilma can be seen today in a large reliquary behind the altar in the new Guadalupe basilica, built next to the site of the miraculous hill. Though it is made of cactus fiber that should have decayed after 20 years, the tilma remains unblemished nearly five centuries later.

The Guadalupe image itself was fraught with symbolic meaning. The Virgin on the cloak appears as a pregnant Indian woman dressed in colors indicating (to Aztec eyes) royalty and divinity, and the stars on her cloak replicate the constellation over Mexico City on the day of her appearance. The name she asked Juan Diego to call her—Our Lady of Guadalupe—is believed by many to be the Spanish transliteration of a Nahuatl word meaning "the one who crushes the serpent." A chief Aztec deity was Quetzalcoatl, or "Plumed Serpent," to whom Aztec priests sacrificed tens of thousands of living human beings each year.

In the Catholic view, the Guadalupe image is a sign to the Aztecs that Christianity, the religion of the Spanish, had come to defeat their bloodthirsty paganism. But Guadalupe cannot be reduced to crude triumphalism: The Mother of Christ appears as an Indian

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

queen and mother, representing the benevolent universality of Christianity, and prophesying the unity of the New World Spanish and Indians to create a new culture. Within a few years of the image's being made known to the Aztecs, millions abandoned the old religion and were baptized. If Guadalupe is fake, it is one of the greatest pieces of religious and political propaganda of all time.

That, indeed, is what some Mexican social critics say, calling Guadalupe a conquistador ruse to hoodwink and subdue the Indians. Others claim that John Paul is continuing in that tradition, canonizing Juan Diego for essentially propagandistic reasons, chiefly to halt the conversion of modern-day Mexican Indians to Protestantism, renewed paganism, or political radicalism.

For his part, the Pope has said he wants St. Juan Diego to be seen as a symbol of the contribution indigenous people have made to Catholicism, and of the unification of the descendants of the natives and the colonizers in shared Christian faith. That's a worthy goal, but achieving it would not justify the certification of a lie—which is what those who doubt Juan Diego's existence say has probably happened.

It should be remembered that the Catholic Church has, in recent times, admitted that it has no reason to believe that certain saints ever lived. In 1969, the Church revised its calendar of feast days when it said there was insufficient evidence to believe that particular saints, such as the beloved St. Christopher, existed outside of pious legend. Throughout most of the Church's history, saints—that is, Christians who were believed by the Church to be in heaven by virtue of their holy lives or martyrs' deaths—were made by popular acclamation, which is not the most precise and accurate way of doing so.

Today, however, the saint-making process is long and arduous, and extremely careful. Detailed work on Juan Diego's canonization has taken 22 years. Some scientific tests cast doubt on the authenticity of the image and the tilma, while others uphold its inexplicability (among them, fascinating studies, done with high-powered instruments, which purport to detect in the Virgin's eye the optically correct images of Bishop Zumarraga and others, presumably as the cloak was first unfurled). In any case, the cloak has never been subjected to the kind of intense scientific examination that the Shroud of Turin has.

Getty

Juan Diego, holy ghost?

In Juan Diego's case, the main historicist complaint by skeptics has been that there are no written records of his existence prior to 1648. Vatican investigators say that many Indian documents from that era were destroyed, in part due to a paper shortage, or lost in the great Mexico City fire of 1692. The Church believes, though, that it has discovered the equivalent of Juan Diego's death certificate. What's more, a Spanish Jesuit in 1997 uncovered the so-called Escalada Codex, a document drawn on dried animal skin, dated 1548, featuring an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the inscription, "Also in 1531 our beloved mother was seen by Cuautlactoactizin, our child, of Guadalupe in Mexico." The codex contains the signatures of a priest and a judge of the era, both of which have been authenticated from other historical documents.

Further documents attest to Juan Diego's existence, though not as definitively as the codex, and there is a strong Indian oral tradition about Juan Diego that the Vatican has accepted as reliable. And recent archaeological discoveries in Georgia, site of a Spanish expedition contemporaneous with Juan Diego's life, turned up a gravestone image of a man on his knees before an apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Of no value to secular historians, but of supreme value to the faithful, are the two miracles that the Church now requires for canonization. The most recent one was the astonishing recent recovery of a Mexico City man from a suicide attempt, after his mother sought Juan Diego's intercession for her son's life. It was ruled inexplicable by natural means by the council of doctors and scientists retained by the Vatican to investigate it. To the Church, verified miracles seal the case for Juan Diego's being in heaven.

"That's exactly what the function of those miracles" is supposed to be, says Kenneth Woodward, author of *Making Saints*. "You need science to disprove things in the canonization process. Modern miracles are almost all healings in hospitals. In most cases, the doctors investigating them are not even Catholic."

Of course, if it is a matter of faith that Juan Diego could not have existed, no amount of historical evidence will suffice to prove the contrary. The July 31 canonization will not quell the debate among dissident historians, but as far as Mexican Catholics are concerned, the debate is over, and the humble Indian peasant whose memory has been venerated in their land for almost 500 years has finally received his due from the institutional Church. As one Guadalupe devotee told a reporter, "I recognize these men have a right to their opinions, and I respect that. But now they should respect the Mexican people and shut up." **NR**

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT

nationalreview

". . . most-enjoyable-to-read conservative site on the web today."

—PoliticalProfessional.Com

www.nationalreview.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Stock Market Without Tears

What we said in *Dow 36,000*; why the critics are wrong

KEVIN A. HASSETT

THE publication of *Dow 36,000* has caused such a stir that it has at times seemed as if co-author James Glassman and I had written another *Bell Curve*. Yet *Dow 36,000* merely seeks to describe why stocks are highly volatile in the short run but highly profitable in the long run. How could such a message be inflammatory?

The question of this upset is hardly new. In February 2000, *Investors Business Daily* ran an editorial asking why the Left was obsessed with *Dow 36,000*. The piece upbraided Paul Krugman and online magazine *Slate* for their "ludicrous" accusations that our theory contained a mathematical error, adding that "even by the loose journalistic standards of op-ed page columns, this falls short." Confronted with the facts, Krugman publicly backed down.

The hubbub, however, went on. In recent weeks, columnist Michael Kinsley has called us "lunatics" in the *Washington Post*, and *Slate* has referred to us as "geniuses." (Somehow, we think *Slate* meant that snidely.) To say these people are obsessed is actually an understatement: Between June 9, 1999, and July 23, 2002, Paul Krugman wrote about *Dow 36,000* in eight separate articles.

Edvard Munch, 1893

Not the investor's temperament

But if the book is so wrong, why not sweep it into the dustbin of history? The answer is that it is not wrong and the Left knows it. Though not an overtly political book, *Dow 36,000* attacks their anti-capitalist religion at its core. Here's why.

THE ESSENTIAL ARGUMENT

On January 2, 1991, the Dow stood at 2,610. By 1996, with the Dow at around 5,000, perpetual bears were announcing yet again that a bubble was forming and a sharp correction imminent. Individual investors, in their view, were acting irrationally, getting swept up in a mania.

At this point, Mr. Glassman and I entered the fray. We contended that investors were not acting stupidly at all. Between 1926 and 2001, after all, the average annual return—after inflation—of the large-cap stocks of the Standard & Poor 500 was 7.6 percent, compared with a return of just 2.2 percent for Treasury bonds. Stocks have thus returned more than three times as much as bonds. They are highly risky in the short run, but much less so in the long run. A vast academic literature has found that as stocks are held over long periods, risk declines. Jeremy Siegel of the Wharton School, for example, examined nearly 200 years' worth of data and found that during their worst 20-year period, stocks still rose by more than 20 percent. For bonds, by contrast, the worst 20 years produced a loss of 60 percent.

Why the puzzling decline in risk long-term? Since the economy grows over time, and corporations generally keep up with it, earnings and dividend news can only get so bad in the aggregate. Even if the U.S. economy grows nominally at 6 percent per year for the next 20 years, it will triple in size—as will corporate profits.

Dow 36,000 argued that as many small investors began to realize that stocks were a solid long-run investment, they became more willing to purchase them. This increase in the demand for stocks helped to bid up both the price and the price/earnings (P/E) ratio, without a sign of a bubble.

But had the "correction" been completed? Mr. Glassman and I argued no—at least not for old-economy firms of the Dow. Using a widely accepted financial valuation model, we demonstrated that the Dow (not Nasdaq) would have to be roughly four times higher than it was in March 1998 for all excessive fear of stocks to be priced out of the market.

Was that a forecast that the Dow would immediately quadruple? Of course not. In 1998, we issued a warning, which we went on to emphasize repeatedly: "We wouldn't bet the ranch on such an enormous and immediate increase. After all, subtle variations in parameters we cannot possibly predict, such as the growth rate or inflation rate, lead to big changes in conclusions."

We issued these cautions for an important reason: Our calculations were based on the assumption that the economy would grow in the future at about the same rate as in the past. But so pleasant an outcome is no sure thing. Political and economic developments can easily undermine the upward trajectory. And the economy may not bounce back in the long run if a recession leads to troubling social change. This point was driven home forcefully as Mr. Glassman and I prepared for the launch of the French translation of our book. In anticipation of

Mr. Hassett is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. His new book is *Bubbleology* (Crown).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a likely question, we decided to calculate the equivalent "break-even" level for the French market. Our calculations suggested that the French market was then significantly *over*-valued.

Brit Hume recently summed it all up: "[*Dow 36,000*] didn't predict the Dow was going to 36,000 next week or tomorrow or next year. But [the authors] basically said that stocks had been undervalued for a long time, and they were a better proposition than bonds, and that if it ever equalized and they were priced based on their return equal to bonds, the Dow would eventually get to 36,000." Those with a political axe to grind have unfortunately chosen to distort this message.

TWO VIEWS AT WAR

Dow 36,000 rests upon solid conservative foundations: Its premise is that free markets promise to deliver prosperity over time. While fluctuations are inevitable, they are spurred principally by the hard economic news that rationally should affect prices. (The recent decline in the Dow, for example, is about the same size as the drop in corporate earnings.) Over time, bear markets are reversed not because the free market is always perfect, but rather because it corrects itself when it makes mistakes.

The Left proposes an alternative view. Markets—especially financial markets—are prone to manias. The wild swings that occur drive economies into deep depressions, and a large and intrusive government is therefore necessary to protect us.

Historically, the stock market has played a key role in helping the Left to make this case. The economy itself has only rarely posted years of negative growth, but it is quite common for the stock market to drop. And whenever it does, we hear yet again about the dangers of unfettered capitalism. The naysaying continues to this day: Consider the recent statement of journalist Robert Kuttner that "the stock-market plunge is more than a crisis of confidence. It's a belated appreciation of economic reality." The plunge, he writes, is attributable to capitalism run amok, and the fact that Democrats' "own romance with the free market is not entirely over."

Complaints like Kuttner's can be ignored, however, if capitalism always bounces back. If the stock market can recover from world wars and a Great Depression, perhaps one should not panic when it drops for a lesser reason.

The second premise of *Dow 36,000* is that citizens are rational beings, fully capable of making their own choices. This, too, contrasts sharply with the motherly attitude the elite take toward the common man. Princeton professor Burton Malkiel, for example, has warned that *Dow 36,000* "may lead some investors who can ill afford the significant risks of equity investments to throw caution to the wind." In other words, it's not the message of the book—it's that ordinary folks are so darn stupid, they're bound to misunderstand it.

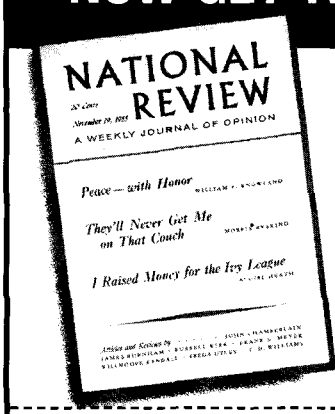
This basic contrast in philosophy is at the core of many current debates. We must not adopt a school voucher program, the Left argues, because parents should not be trusted to choose schools. We cannot privatize Social Security, because individuals are too inept to plan for retirement. These—and other—positions rest on a mythology of the common man that itself arose, in part, from the observation that individuals are stock-market lemmings. The "madness of crowds" justifies the employment of government orderlies.

Philosophical differences like these have important tactical implications as well. In *Crisis and Leviathan*, Robert Higgs documents how liberals have taken political advantage of periods of high stress, using them to significantly expand the reach of government. Higgs attributes the steady growth of Leviathan over time to a "ratchet effect": Government expands sharply if a panic can be orchestrated, and it then stays larger once the panic has subsided.

Once the stock market's short-run volatility became widely accepted, this pattern would be short-circuited. Downward market swings would no longer be attended by a swelling Leviathan. This would challenge the Left's distributional objective as well. As more and more individuals participate in stock ownership, a cease-fire is declared in the war between capital and labor.

But those times are not yet here, and that seriously affects

NATIONAL REVIEW PREMIER ISSUE: NOW GET THE 'CLASSIC EDITION'


NATIONAL REVIEW
A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION
Peace — with Honor
They'll Never Get Me on That Couch
I Raised Money for the Ivy League

An artful remembrance of the November 15, 1955, premier issue of the magazine that launched the modern conservative movement. The special "Classic Edition" comes leatherbound, gold-stamped, and autographed by Bill Buckley. (Act *now*—supplies limited!) $49.95.

Premier Issue Classic Edition/$49.95 each. Add $3 shipping/handling charge per order.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

Number of items: _____

PAYMENT METHOD

☐ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")

Bill to: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

Total payment $ _____

New York State residents must include sales tax.

Mail to: National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

policy. Because both corporate and personal taxes apply to corporate income, for example, U.S. dividends are among the highest-taxed in the world. At a time when the reliability of corporate-earnings reports is a concern, a change in tax policy that reduces the burden on dividends would simultaneously increase the attractiveness of U.S. equities and increase the visibility of cash flows. With a majority investor class, such a policy could be possible; today it is not.

TERMS LONG AND SHORT

The liberals' hysteria over the market also has a more immediate effect on the wealth of their audience. Dalbar, Inc., a Boston research firm, studied the behavior of actual investors in U.S. equity mutual funds between 1984 and 1997. They found that the typical investor earned an average return of 6.7 percent per year over that period—more than 10 percentage points lower than the average return of the S&P 500 index (17.2 percent). Why the big difference? Simple: Many investors would sell in panic after market declines (sound familiar?), jumping back in only after market advances.

The result is even more shocking than it may first appear. Dalbar did not distinguish between the growing number of investors taking the rational long view, and those selling after declines. Hypothetically, then, let's assume 50 percent of stocks were owned by individuals who took the long view, and received the 17.2 percent annual return. For the averages to work out, the other 50 percent must then have gotten a return of –3.8 percent. Market timers probably lost money, then—even during the best bull market of all time! Of course, this would be neither the first nor the last time the liberals' motherly concern for the average Joe has proved to be his worst nightmare.

One reason for the amazing success of equity investment is that the U.S. has always been fortunate. Terrible things that could have happened, did not. Our cities were not destroyed by the Nazis; our government was not seized by the socialists. As we move forward, however, there are no guarantees—which suggests that faith in markets is not enough. Action is required as well. History shows that if our citizens collectively decide to defend capitalism, as they have in the past, we can recover as a nation from whatever is thrown our way. But if we don't, all bets are off. Faith in financial markets requires faith in capitalism, and vice versa.

There are undoubtedly dark times lurking. A necessary war with Iraq is likely, and the terrorists have yet to be defeated. Economic history suggests that the turmoil of war and terrorism often leads to recessions, which result in declining profits and equity prices. As the work of Robert Higgs suggests, it is in these darkest moments that free-market principles face their most serious political challenge.

How will it turn out? Will our economy finally fall into a hole from which there is no escape? As Jim Glassman and I wrote in *Dow 36,000*, "Unlike other animals, human beings have the capacity to take the long view." Being optimists, we think our citizens—despite the palpable fear and short-term enthusiasms that markets and political opportunists generate—will put that capacity to profitable use with increasing frequency. If they do, their actions will buttress the freedom and prosperity of our nation, which will be the sweetest dividend of all. **NR**

Fallout

In Kazakhstan, the human wreckage of Soviet nuclear tests

ROBERT ELEGANT

Semey, Kazakhstan

TEARS glint in the eyes of Melgis Metov, a tall Kazakh who was once a tough platoon leader in the Soviet army and later an instructor in physics. Melgis is now the mainstay of a small group of seriously ill "atomic soldiers" whose number is declining with tragic rapidity. Some 5,000 Kazakh troops served in the Semipalatinsk (now Semey) Polygon, an area of just over 7,000 square miles where the USSR developed its nuclear weapons. Some 40 atomic soldiers are still alive. But not for long. Radiation sicknesses are killing them.

The tears in Melgis's eyes are spontaneous and natural, quite consonant with the intense culture formed by the combination of the former nomads, the high-strung Kazakhs, and their former overlords, the emotional Russians. His given name is redolent of the Communist period: It is constructed from the initials of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Giosef Stalin. Melgis is a common name in Kazakhstan, a Central Asian republic roughly one-third the size of the U.S. It does not embarrass the veteran in his mid 50s, although he is now fiercely anti-Moscow.

Melgis Metov hates not just Communists, but Russians—not only because of the deadly radiation to which the Red Army, well aware of the danger, deliberately exposed its own troops and tens of thousands of civilians, but also because Moscow to this day refuses to acknowledge the extent of the horror the Soviets wrought. Although the USSR collapsed more than a decade ago, the Russian government still conceals most of the vital records regarding the effects of nuclear testing.

For half a century, Moscow simply denied the existence of such documents—and it still flatly refuses to offer any assistance to the Red Army veterans harrowed by radiation.

A VISIT TO THE INFERNO

For three strenuous days, I traveled around the Semey Polygon, and saw at close hand the devastating results of some 500 nuclear explosions. The U.S. conducted many similar tests, and some Kazakh experts say parts of Nevada are more heavily contaminated than the USSR's polygon; but they do not deny that the U.S. generally tried to shield soldiers and civilians from radiation. Moreover, the pioneer medical investigator Viktor Moshkevich wrote in a definitive report that "no territory in the world has suffered from

Mr. Elegant is the author of many books, including *Pacific Destiny* and *Dynasty*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

radioactive, chemical, and bacteriological weapons as much as Kazakhstan"; he added that the Semey Polygon is "the most heavily contaminated place on earth."

I met scores of men and women, and spoke at length with victims sacrificed to Soviet fears and ambitions, as well as the unrestrained whims of scientists. I spoke with administrators, physicists, technicians, and researchers who were the cogs of the Soviet nuclear machinery. I also spoke with the highly competent professionals—chiefly scientists, physicians, and statisticians—who are now working to assess the full impact of four decades of atomic explosions, and to succor the tens of thousands who still suffer. Few of these dedicated workers receive as much as $100 a month—not a living wage, even in Kazakhstan's remote northeast. Nor does Moscow provide any medical or research assistance, though Japan and the U.S. have contributed significantly, and other countries a mite: Sweden, $60,000.

From the first test in August 1949, what really mattered to Moscow was developing the most destructive weapons for defense—or offense. The effect of radiation on exposed men, women, and children was a secondary interest. All the data collected were classified Top Secret to forestall protest or interference at home or abroad; some soldiers working close to ground zero learned of the dangers only through the revelations of Western intelligence.

I was forced to conclude that the USSR was, truly, an Evil Empire. Evil is the uniquely correct word because the terrible effects were themselves the Soviets' purpose. The horrors were not the unsought—even if culpably foreseen, and even more culpably ignored—consequence of another policy. The Soviets' unmistakable intent in the Semipalatinsk Polygon and other, smaller polygons was to subject hundreds of thousands of soldiers and civilians to massive radiation—and then assay the effects, psychological and tactical as well as physical.

Soldiers and junior officers equipped with no protective gear except goggles and rubber gloves, which were useless, otherwise wearing only shirts and trousers, were ordered to ground zero to read instruments an hour or two after an explosion. Only when the nuclear warhead of a straying missile went off close by were troops hustled away. A mobile shower-truck, hardly a common amenity of the Red Army, allowed them to wash off contamination. They were then ordered to resume the clothes they had been wearing. Quasi-independent physicians allowed to survey the health hazards in the polygon were bludgeoned by the KGB into silence, thus ensuring that nothing would be done to help the victims.

The Soviets understood from the outset that atomic explosions in the atmosphere—no more than a hundred feet above ground—posed especially fearsome health risks. When Field Marshal Grigori Zhukov ordered 45,000 troops to engage in war games less than an hour after a nuclear explosion overhead, he watched the maneuvers from a lead-lined tank. As revealingly, a museum opened in 1950 for young officers displayed full knowledge of the risks of radiation. Also: the splattered lungs and livers of dogs, sheep, and cows; rock powdered or twisted into grotesque shapes; and models of the tunnels dug into hills for the underground explosions to which the Soviets were limited by international agreement in 1962.

Foreseeing no end to their macabre festival, the Soviets did not anticipate the theft of very valuable, though radioactive, copper cables from the actual tunnels since the end of testing in 1989—nor its widespread reuse. They say in Semey that the nearby Chinese barter cheap clothing for that copper and make it into jewelry for export.

The U.S. is financing a hundred-million-dollar endeavor in cooperation with the fitful Kazakh authorities to roll back such nuclear aftereffects. Yet blocked-off tunnels are no more proof against robbers than Egyptian pyramids against tomb raiders.

The Soviets thus deliberately exposed soldiers and civilians to unchecked radiation—in part because the apparatchiks running the show could not be bothered with precautions, but primarily because they were curious as to the effects of prolonged exposure on human beings. They were not concerned to treat the consequent maladies; they merely wanted to record them—in secret. Kazakh doctors were not allowed to make a diagnosis of radiation sickness. They were instructed to attribute the fourfold increase in diseases to the poor Kazakh diet.

■

What really mattered to Moscow was developing the most destructive weapons for defense—or offense. The effect of radiation on those exposed was a secondary interest.

■

That grisly nuclear endeavor finally ended in 1989, and has been followed by a continuing effort to mitigate its effects. My investigation started at the Oncology Center in Semey, which treats a growing number of increasingly acute cancer cases each year. In 2000, they numbered 2,400; this year the number will exceed 3,200. Informed specialists estimate that the region endures double the worldwide cancer rate and that half its people have suffered damage to their reproductive cells, which means their offspring are likely to be afflicted by genetic complaints.

CANCER WARD

The Oncology Center is spread out over old buildings in various stages of dilapidation. Mobile vans donated by Japan go out to find and diagnose patients needing urgent treatment. In an ill-equipped theater, the center's doctors perform operations that would be impressive even in the U.S. or the U.K.—all on a total budget of $600,000 a year. The equipment, generally, is antique. A 1957 Soviet device to treat skin cancer looks like an ancient electric chair, better fitted to kill than cure. The best thing the outside world could do would be to donate modern therapeutic equipment; just $10 or $15 million would provide enormous benefits.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A surgeon in his late 30s shyly introduces a 51-year-old peasant woman in worn clothing. A few weeks ago he removed three-quarters of her pancreas and reconstructed her esophagus. Next week she will go home to grown children whom the surgeon had to badger into allowing the procedure.

The children of those directly exposed, the second generation, oddly enough suffer less than do the third and fourth generations: The latter groups display ever more severe malformation and illness owing to radiation-induced mutation in the chromosomes in the sperm and ova. Leukemia is common among the very young; as is suicide, among adolescents who learn they are impotent or barren. Some infants suffer melanoma—a virulent, often fatal skin cancer otherwise unknown among Kazakhs and never found anywhere else in the world in such young children. Others are born with major bone deformation, some without arms and legs. The "jelly babies" have virtually no bones at all.

Cancer is but the most prevalent disease. Other common maladies affect hearts, arteries, endocrine glands, and the blood. Monstrosities abound in a local pathological museum—fetuses with two heads or none at all, and animal carcasses hardly recognizable as potential living beings.

OUT FROM GROUND ZERO

The countryside reflects the havoc, I learned as I drove 200 miles over rutted, potholed Soviet-built military roads. My destination was the severely afflicted village of Sarjal, whose people—like those of only one other community—were actually evacuated before one extremely powerful blast; they were returned after ten days. Usually, the people of Sarjal were simply told to refrain from lighting their iron cooking stoves, lest the fire flare back into the house. They were also warned to stay outside when an explosion was scheduled, since it might topple their house.

Radiation? Not a word of warning about that, from Soviet sources.

The rolling steppe is crisscrossed by pylons and poles that carry the electricity the Soviets introduced throughout their empire. Otherwise the bare earth is lightly tufted with shrubs. An occasional tree still stands, a survivor of the ruthless quest for firewood. Herds of horses, cattle, and sheep, all meant for meat, graze on the sparse grass, shepherded by picturesque Kazakh cowboys astride squat ponies.

Contamination by radiation? Of course, but what is one to do? Crops grow on plots deep seeded with radioactive particles. Drinking water, too, is contaminated, though the level is not immediately harmful. But after long use . . .

Battered villages beside the roads are all but empty, though loudspeakers blare discordantly in some half-obliterated squares. Most of the sharp-edged concrete huts are not only deserted, but falling down. In one village a severely wounded veteran of the Red Army's advance on Berlin, who is in his late 80s, lives with his aged wife. Incapable of rising from his ramshackle chair without help, he is unable to leave the village of which his family are virtually the only settled inhabitants.

Their former neighbors, once collective farmers, are looking for work elsewhere. Any hope of earning even a meager living at home vanished when the bosses, all former Communist party officials, sold the farms' machinery and immediately decamped.

Still some distance from the blast center, sited to escape the prevailing winds that have carried nuclear particles, stands Kurchatov, a luxurious town built for the scientists and generals who conceived, created, and directed the atomic program. In these broad, seamlessly paved streets cavorted Andrei Sakharov, later a stern critic of the regime, to celebrate in 1953 the success of his 400-kiloton hydrogen bomb, Moscow's first thermonuclear device.

■

A Geiger counter chatters frantically when held close to a rock. Whatever the nonchalance of our guides, we do not linger.

■

Named for one of the USSR's leading nuclear scientists, Igor Kurchatov, whose massive statue dominates its elaborate buildings, the town is now occupied by the National Nuclear Center of Kazakhstan. The director, Dr. Shamil T. Tukhvatulin, who has been associated with the nuclear enterprise for decades, warns that the entire area is "like a minefield. Seventeen percent is heavily contaminated, [and] you never know where you'll come across a hot spot."

One hot spot is well known. In its center a round lake shines blue-green amid deformed, dun-colored hills speckled with patches of battered red rock that stretch tens of miles across the relatively unsettled region that was tormented by 124 tests. The world's only nuclear lake was created in January 1965 by a 140-kiloton explosion, equivalent to 140,000 tons of TNT, at the bottom of a shaft more than 100 yards deep. It spewed radioactive debris, as did dozens of other open-shaft tests in the vicinity that were not strictly "atmospheric" and therefore not in open violation of the international agreement that banned tests above ground. The rough circle of battered hills cast up around the lake is more than 300 feet high in places. "The Americans tried to do the same thing in Nevada," Tukhvatulin says with unconcealed satisfaction. "But their lake is dry."

Oddly enough, the water itself is not contaminated, and the bold swim in it. But radiation is up to a thousand times normal on the shore around it, which is seamed and cratered.

A small green lizard emerges from under a rock—normal, as far as we can see. Such are the vagaries of radiation effects, which are imperfectly understood even today; continuing research is vitally important.

A Geiger counter chatters frantically when held close to a rock. Whatever the nonchalance of our guides, we do not linger. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Salem in Newcastle

What a recent child-abuse scare in England tells us

THEODORE DALRYMPLE

No subject needs the exercise of cool and critical intelligence more than that of child sexual abuse. We need to steer between the Scylla of indifference and denial, and the Charybdis of hysteria. In the present climate, Charybdis poses the greater danger.

But no one should doubt the existence of horrific sexual abuse of children. Not long ago, the police brought me several videotapes, of which they had scores, made by two parents who had sexually tortured their daughters for years. The mother did most of the torturing—gruesome beyond description—while the father filmed the proceedings. They sold the resultant tapes for upwards of $1,000 each on the child-pornography market.

The police brought me the tapes because the gallant father had claimed (in an attempt to divert all the blame to himself) that his wife had acted thus only because he had surreptitiously sedated her with drugs that transformed her into an obedient automaton. The police wanted to know whether there was any pharmacological plausibility to the claim, which of course there wasn't. Accustomed as I am to dealing with human depravity in all its forms, the fact that such abuse had continued undetected for years in an ordinary suburban home, while the children went to school, nevertheless shocked me. For some time, I couldn't look at a normal home from the outside without wondering what unfathomable wickedness was being perpetrated within.

But not every allegation of depravity is true. In London at the end of July, two young nursery nurses, Dawn Reed and Christopher Lillie, won an historic libel case that they brought against the authors of an official report, commissioned by Newcastle City Council, about allegations of child sexual abuse at a children's nursery in that city. The entire story casts a very lurid light on modern British society.

SALEM IN NEWCASTLE

It started nine years ago, in 1993, when a mother allegedly heard her two-year-old child say that Lillie had hurt him. Only a few days before, another nursery nurse working in Newcastle had been sentenced for self-confessed abuse of the children in his care. An atmosphere not very different from that of Salem soon prevailed, and large numbers of parents came to believe that their tiny children had been abducted by the two nurses, and—among other things—raped and sodomized in front of cameras for the delectation of a pedophile ring. Before the episode was over, the parents of 350 children claimed that their children had been abused in this fashion, having bullied and harried them into making the most lurid allegations.

Had the parents not found a compliant and gullible pediatrician to substantiate their claims, the lack of physical injuries to any of the children might have caused the police to retain a decent skepticism, and the matter might not have escalated as it did; but Dr. Camille San Lazaro, of Newcastle University, on the basis of cursory, poorly-performed, and worse-documented examinations, confirmed that the children had indeed been abused as claimed. The police, responding to local pressure, arrested the two nurses. One of them had already been assaulted by an outraged parent, and he was soon to have his nose broken in prison and his food spat into by the morally outraged burglars of Newcastle.

The subsequent court case exonerated them completely. The judge ruled that the evidence against them was so poor that he was not prepared even to put it to a jury. And that should have been that: but it wasn't.

■

The Sun, a popular tabloid, asked its readers to telephone with the whereabouts of the nurses. 'Help us,' it shrieked, 'to find these fiends!'

■

The parents, backed by Dr. San Lazaro, continued to believe in the nurses' guilt. The nurses were forced to flee for their lives and to change their identities. Newcastle City Council, under pressure from the parents, set up a commission of inquiry into the alleged abuse, despite the comprehensive acquittal of the nurses in court. Among the members of the commission—none of whom had any legal training or experience, and who were paid $550,000 for their work (collectively)—was a social worker who, in her former employment, had already been proved too eager to accept allegations of child sexual abuse.

The commission finished its work in 1998 and the council published it. All the allegations, no matter how intrinsically implausible, were repeated. The press took them at face value and gave them wide publicity. The *Sun*, a popular tabloid, asked its readers to telephone with the whereabouts of the nurses. "Help us," it shrieked, "to find these fiends!"

The nurses decided to sue the city council, the individual members of the commission, and the local newspaper for libel; they did not sue the *Sun*, feeling that it would be too formidable an adversary. They were fortunate to find an eminent lawyer willing to work for them on a no-win, no-fee basis. Four years later, they were completely vindicated (once again). The judge found that there was not a shred of evidence against them; worse still, he found that the members of the commission had acted maliciously, making state-

Mr. Dalrymple, a British physician and psychiatrist, is a contributing editor of *City Journal*, and the author, most recently, of *Life at the Bottom: The Worldview That Makes the Underclass*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments in their report that they knew to be false, probably to curry favor with the parents. He awarded the two nurses $310,000 each against the members of the commission, and regretted only that the qualified privilege of the city council precluded him from making an award against it as well. The local newspaper had previously settled out of court.

The council, which had agreed to indemnify the members of the commission, was left with legal expenses in excess of $9 million: and thus the local taxpayers were forced to foot the bill for the whole debacle.

The expenses don't end there, of course. When the report of the commission was first published, some of the parents of the allegedly abused children sued the council for compensation, for having failed to protect their children from abuse. Now that it has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that no such abuse ever took place, other parents have decided to sue the council for all the trauma consequent upon the false allegations of abuse, which the council failed to defuse. In modern Britain, it is an ill wind that blows no one any compensation—or "compo," as my patients familiarly call it.

The fact that the innocence of the nurses has been proved beyond all reasonable doubt does not mean, however, that no one does in fact doubt it.

On the contrary, feeling against the nurses in Newcastle still runs high, and if ever they were foolish enough to return there, it is probable that they would be lynched by an enraged mob. Child abuse is a crime of which anyone is guilty if publicly accused of it.

A CASE OF PROJECTION?

The hysteria in Newcastle over the abuse that never took place thinly disguises a profound and general but unacknowledged guilt about the way in which British children are brought into the world and then abused and neglected by their parents on a mass scale. I am not a great believer in Freudian psychology, but in the intense persecution of two patently innocent people it is surely possible to see a whole society indulging in the Freudian mechanism of projection: that is to say, accusing others of doing what it is itself doing.

The prisoners who attacked Lillie in the prison, and spat in his food, were almost certainly all child-abusers after their own fashion. That fashion was not necessarily sexual, but nonetheless devastating in its effects upon the children. From my observations in the prison in which I work, I suspect that most of those who attacked Lillie would have fathered children whom they had already abandoned or would very soon abandon. Not one of the prisoners would have considered it his bounden duty to support the children he had fathered in any way whatsoever: not emotionally, and certainly not financially. Most of them would use their children only as a bargaining chip to insinuate themselves back into the homes of the mother they had likewise abandoned, in order to have casual sex with her when they felt so inclined.

It requires little reflection to understand why this pattern of fatherhood should powerfully promote the abuse, both physical and sexual, of children.

The mothers take in stepfathers, often serially: and stepfathers are notoriously more liable to abuse children than are biological fathers. One particularly dangerous situation, that is increasingly common, is a mother whose latest boyfriend is only a few years older than her own oldest child. This blurring of the generations is a perfect recipe for abuse.

Nor can it be said that those who abandon their children are unaware of the consequences of doing so. They know perfectly well that in abandoning their children and the mothers of their children they are dramatically increasing the chances that their children will be abused. I know that they know, because I have asked them, and I have never met any who failed to understand the natural consequences of their abandonment.

■

The rage expressed by the not-so-good citizens of Newcastle against the two nurses was, and is, an expression of their own unacknowledged guilt.

■

The pattern of child-rearing (if that is quite the word I seek) among prisoners is increasingly the norm among the general population, especially in cities such as Newcastle. Therefore, the rage expressed by the not-so-good citizens of Newcastle against the two nurses was, and is, an expression of their own unacknowledged guilt, compounded by the desire for compensation dishonestly come by. Dishonest compensation, after all, is the one hope that a spendthrift population has of laying its hand upon a sizeable sum.

Not all the parents in Newcastle who expressed insensate rage against the innocent nurses were of the child-abandoning class: but the British middle classes have their own guilt to assuage with regard to the way they bring up their children. This is often a form of gilded neglect: that is to say, they give them everything except time and attention. They are sentimental about children in proportion to their underlying indifference to them. And they have been singularly pusillanimous in opposing the social and legal changes that have so greatly increased child abuse in the last decades: easy divorce, the acceptance of illegitimacy, etc.

What this lamentable episode lasting nine years also makes clear is that a high level of (or perhaps I should say, a large number of years spent in) education is not necessarily an aid to critical thought. One of the members of the commission was himself a university professor, but he was no more able—or willing—to think clearly than the most ignorant denizen of the slums.

The only saving grace in the entire episode was the scrupulousness, clarity, and intelligence of the judiciary: and it is currently under attack in Britain for not being representative of the population as a whole. God preserve us from such an eventuality! Without the judges, Reed and Lillie would have been hanged, drawn, quartered, and probably eaten. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the mid 1980's Congress abolished parole and passed harsh drug sentencing laws. Many states followed, creating a tenfold increase in the number of drug offenders incarcerated.[1]

If prisoners were able to earn earlier release:

- Incentives toward cooperation, study, and learning skills would create a safer environment for staff and prisoners alike.
- Families could be reunited earlier, with better prospects for successful reentry into society.
- High costs incarcerating drug offenders — $9.4 billion annually[2] — would be dramatically reduced.
- Inhumane prison overcrowding would be redressed. The federal system is already 31% over capacity, and is growing at more than 9% annually — the equivalent of a prison a month to keep overcrowding from growing worse.[3]
- Prisons would less likely be breeding grounds for extremists and terrorists.[4]

Isn't rewarding achievement the American Way?

Kevin B. Zeese, President, Common Sense for Drug Policy
3220 N Street NW #141, Washington, DC 20007
www.csdp.org * www.DrugWarFacts.org * www.addictinthefamily.org * info@csdp.org
202-299-9780 * 202-518-4028 (fax)

---

[1] Beck Alan. J. Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 1999. Washington, DC: Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, April, 2000; Maguire, Kathleen and Ann. L. Pastore, editors Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1998. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998.
[2] Bureau of Justice Statistics, Profile of Jail Inmates 1996 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, April 1996), pp. 1, 4; Bureau of Justice Statistics, Prisoners in 1996 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1997), pp. 10-11; Criminal Justice Institute, Inc.: Camp, George M. and Camp, Camille Graham. The Corrections Yearbook, 1998. Middletown, Connecticut: Criminal Justice Institute, 1999.
[3] US Dept of Justice, An analysis of non-violent drug offenders with minimal criminal histories, DOJ executive summary, Feb 4, 1994. "Since the end of 1988, when the full impact of these new laws was realized, the prison population has grown by an average of over 650 inmates per month, or enough to fill one medium size institution with each new month." (p. 13)
[4] Cal Thomas, "Radical Recruiting in US Prisons", Lancaster New Era, June 22, 2002.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'Soli Deo Gloria'

Not your average music camp

JAY NORDLINGER

In America, of course, there's a summer camp for everything, and everyone. Vegan canoeing and computing? No problem. There's a great variety of music camps, too, from swanky ones like Tanglewood and Aspen to Bob's Bugle Bash, down by the creek. Unique among these is The MasterWorks Festival, in Winona Lake, Ind. It is a music camp for Christians, featuring Bible study and "Christian fellowship," along with normal musical activities. This is a peculiar slice of American musical life, and of American religious life, and of America itself.

You might think that this camp would be rather rinky-dink, musically—more Jim and Tammy Faye than Tanglewood. You would be wrong. Don't be embarrassed, however, because even some of the students shared this belief. David Bridges, a brass player from the Cincinnati Conservatory, says, "When I first heard about this Christian music festival, I was very skeptical. I figured it would be a bunch of nice, sweet people, singing hymns and having praise and worship." But he found, to his wonder and delight, that the place is top-notch. So do others.

■

One student says, 'The people around me are so open and free—I don't feel like I have to be anything other than what I am.'

■

MasterWorks attracts both top students and top faculty (and the two usually go together, the world over). Some of the most notable performers and teachers in the world participate in the camp, "outing" themselves as earnest Christians, in a way, and giving young people examples to follow. Letting them know that they're not alone. Midori, the violinist (just one name, please), has been there. Christopher Parkening, the guitarist, is a favorite. And then you have John Nelson, the conductor, Philip Smith, principal trumpet for the New York Philharmonic, and Lawrence Dutton, violist for the Emerson String Quartet. The conductor Jahja Ling has visited there, testifying about the Christian experience in China (as well as leading the orchestra). Stephen Clapp, dean of the Juilliard School—a mighty secular position—teaches there. Other faculty come from most of the major orchestras and conservatories in the country, and also from such institutions as the American Ballet Theater (MasterWorks branches beyond music, into dance and drama).

All involved seem to have a sense of being at home, of completeness. As Delta David Gier, assistant conductor for the New York Philharmonic, puts it, "The fusion of our two great concerns, music and faith, finds full expression [at the camp]." More than one camper speaks of not being "on the fringe," but in a central place, among the like-minded. Rebekah Bayles, a theater student from Virginia, says, "The people around me are so open and free—I don't feel like I have to be anything other than what I am. No one is looking at me with judgmental eyes." Over and over, campers give some variation of, "I wasn't quite sure that real musicians could be real Christians, or that real Christians could be true musicians. But now I see it all around me."

Patrick Kavanaugh is the camp's director, and well familiar with this phenomenon. "Imagine," he says, "that you're a high-school violinist [of the religious, churchy sort]. You have two lives. You have your church friends—who don't know a thing about music, couldn't care less about it, and may look with suspicion on it—and you have your youth-orchestra friends, who couldn't care less about your religion, unless they think it's kooky or weird. But here, the two sides come together, mingling, integrated." Besides which, our violinist may share a stand in the orchestra with a member of, say, the Boston Symphony—and that violinist leaves the camp newly fortified about the future.

A MUSICAL MINISTRY

The MasterWorks Festival is an offshoot of the Christian Performing Artists' Fellowship, or CPAF. If that sounds like the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, it is. Kavanaugh—who is also head of CPAF—says, "We're very similar, and good friends. We follow an amazingly similar strategy." Kavanaugh, his wife Barbara (a cellist), and some of their friends founded CPAF in 1984, intending it as a "ministry" to the performing-arts world, which they thought was sorely in need of it. They started small, finding members and helpers through word-of-mouth, and have grown considerably. CPAF now has over 1,000 members, with chapters in about 50 music schools, 30 orchestras, and various opera companies and other outfits. Members belong to some 50 different denominations. "Recruiting" consists essentially of tacking a sheet on a bulletin board—if the relevant institution will permit it—saying, "Christian fellowship, Tuesday at 4. Y'all come."

And, in perhaps surprising numbers, they do. People seeking this kind of activity and company come out of the woodwork. CPAF may not be well known to the world at large, but, as Kavanaugh says—not boastfully—"If you're a classical musician and you're a Christian, you know about us." Christians of the CPAF sort are far from a majority in the performing arts—that's part of why they want to join. But they wouldn't fit into a phone booth either. In fact, they could get up a pretty good orchestra, opera company, dance troupe, camp—and they do.

The presiding spirit of The MasterWorks Festival is Kavanaugh himself, an amazing piece of work. Nashville-born, and a composer, conductor, and musicologist, he's part good ol' boy, part musical intellectual, and part impresario. He studied composition with, among others, John Cage, "in the Village" (that would be Greenwich). Often, he composes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in microtones, a practice not typically associated with the evangelical-Christian world, somehow. ("There are countless microtones within conventional tones." But how can the average person possibly hear them? "Ah, come on, we are fearfully and wonderfully made!") Much of the world would identify him with the dreaded Religious Right—and yet he is an audaciously radical composer. In fact, he has the usual gripes of the contemporary composer: that the concert world is too conservative, that it ignores difficult and pioneering music, etc. He catches some flak from the "Christian music" crowd, too. Once, he penned an article for a magazine entitled, "Does Godliness Equal Tonality?"

■

Here, 'fellowship' is a verb: 'Y'all, if you're going to fellowship, fellowship outside, please, because we're trying to rehearse!'

■

Confronted with the idea that he's a rather unusual Joe, he says, "Yeah, but you know, I feel like Ozzie Nelson. I don't feel interesting at all. Don't watch porno, don't cheat on my wife. I like to stay at home, write wacky music." True, though, "we don't just sit around and pop popcorn and go to church socials." Kavanaugh himself has two sets of friends, who have little to do with each other: "Got my church friends, and then these nutty Village people who come to hear my music. 'What in the world?' they say. 'Is that guy still readin' the Bible?'"

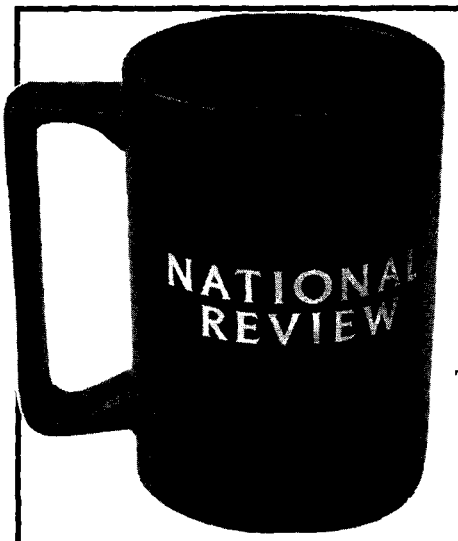
Kavanaugh is the author of seven books, including a best-seller, *The Spiritual Lives of the Great Composers*. He explains that most musical biographies "don't even mention the very strong and consequential faith that a lot of these guys had. I mean, there was one biography of Bach that never mentioned his faith. I mean, Bach? Some are more obvious than others, but that's absurd."

IN SUNDAY COUNTRY

The MasterWorks Festival began just five years ago, in 1997. From '97 through '01, it was in central New York, at Houghton College. This year, it moved to Indiana, to Winona Lake, on the campus of Grace College. The town is best known as the home of Billy Sunday, the old ballplayer-turned-evangelist. It's about an hour from Fort Wayne, an hour from South Bend, and about an hour and a half from Chicago, "the town that Billy Sunday could not shut down" (as the song says).

MasterWorks is, in many respects, an ordinary music camp, with concerto competitions, arduous practice, and general musical inundation. It also has elements of a "normal" camp—a camp camp—such as bonfires on the beach, s'mores, and even a Gong Show (an occasion of high hilarity). But it is clearly apart. You see a license plate that says "SELAH." You see students in clusters, with Bibles open. And you see a lot of prayer—hear it, too. MasterWorkers pray before each concert, and before each rehearsal, and before each audition (when it is most appreciated, according to the campers). They'll pray at the drop of a hat. "Sometimes when we're frazzled in rehearsal," says Kavanaugh, "we'll just stop everything and pray, till we get it back together." And when they're not praying, they're "fellowshipping," which is a verb at MasterWorks: "Y'all, if you're going to fellowship, fellowship outside, please, because we're trying to rehearse here!"

Students obviously appreciate the bonds that form. Pat Kavanaugh likes to relate that, in only five years, two marriages have come out of the camp. (Students range from age 14 to about 26; most are in college.) Throughout the year, campers chatter back and forth on e-mail lists. They have come from 49 states—there's yet to be a Hawaiian—and from about 25 countries. As in most musical settings, there is a multiplicity of colors, ethnicities, and accents. Kavanaugh mentions something touching, a little startling, about those from the former Soviet bloc: They're especially eager to eat—even the (unspectacular) cafeteria food.



The official NR Mug

BIG. BOLD.

COBALT BLUE.

THE RIGHT WAY TO QUAFF YOUR DAILY DOSE OF JAVA.

One mug $7.95. Extra mugs $7 each.
$3 shipping/handling charge per order.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Number of mugs: _____

PAYMENT METHOD

❑ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")

Bill to: ❑ MasterCard ❑ Visa

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

* Total payment $ _____

* NY State residents include sales tax.

Mail to: National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These kids—and faculty—come from a variety of "faith traditions," too. There are Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, Catholics, Russian Orthodox. Kavanaugh says, merrily, "We got wild charismatics, we got guys from Bible church who think that the charismatics are crazy—it's fun, it's a blast." In addition, "kids meet people from all over Christendom, and they find out that those from other churches aren't ogres after all. That's one of the best byproducts of the whole thing." There are no prescribed prayers, either. "When we come together to pray, it's amazing. You got stately Methodist prayers, with 'thee's and 'thou's, and you got charismatics, calling down fire on the place, then some other guy from a Bible church will start prophesying." The director is very strict about one thing: no sectarian bickering. "I don't care whether you were sprinkled or dunked. I don't have time for such nonsense. There's tremendous work to be done—people are hurting out there."

To teach at MasterWorks, there is a single criterion (beyond the musical): that one be "a believer." (There's no such requirement for students—only the audition.) Otherwise, matters both artistic and religious are left to individual conscience. Says Kavanaugh, "We got one guy [in the theater department] who won't kiss anyone but his wife, and we got another guy, who loves the Lord—not to mention his wife—just as much, who will." No work—no opera, for example—is Bowdlerized. The wicked stage is still the wicked stage. There are limits, of course. The English National Opera recently put on a *Don Giovanni* that was described by one critic as a "coke-fueled fellatio fest." That, you won't see in Winona Lake (or most anywhere else). But sensibilities aren't dainty.

Richard Lambert

A Bible-studying, and -discussing, quintet

Many campers say that they're working against two tugs: from their church, saying, "This world is not for you"; and from the arts world, saying . . . well, "This world is not for the likes of you." Amadeus Gois, a baritone from Brazil, says—about opera in particular—"It's good to know that so many Christians are involved. And they're normal opera singers! We have people from the Metropolitan Opera and other big houses. It's reassuring."

A JOYFUL NOISE

A staple of the camp is the daily Bible study, from a program devised by Kavanaugh and a colleague. As their syllabus says, "This is not a typical Bible study" to be found at the local church. "As Paul strove to be 'Jew to the Jew, and Greek to the Greek,' the MasterClass [as the Bible program is called] strives to address issues high in the minds of our students." The study program patterns the sonata form: exposition, development, and recapitulation. Topics include "Being faithful with your talent," "Nervousness in performing," "Egomania vs. humility," "Handling criticism and critics," "Competitiveness," and "Is your art your god?"

And the students seem to eat it up. They appear to be not only happy at the camp, but relieved. Aeja Killworth, a violist from the Peabody Conservatory, says, "We're all taking pleasure in each other's talent. To take joy in someone else's ability—that helps you to be less jealous, less focused on yourself. You serve God, and you serve others. And our world, usually, is so dog-eat-dog." Chris Frankie, a violinist about to enter the Cleveland Institute, says, "With this kind of atmosphere, everything's ultimately more fun. You're not feeling put down, you're feeling lifted up. We're here to make music, not to dust someone else."

And yet, of course, some element of competition is ever present, this being music, and life. Standards at MasterWorks rise every year. Some campers who attended in previous summers, are not accepted now. And of performers and teachers, many more want to take part than there is room for. Kavanaugh can afford to be picky.

Funds, naturally, are a constant worry. Most of the campers are on scholarship. The foreign students couldn't afford to get out of their home airports. MasterWorks, like its parent, CPAF, survives on individual donations and the support of a handful of foundations. Kavanaugh is in a precarious position: "Government won't touch us, of course, and the arts won't touch us, because we're Christians." But fellow Christians are wary, too. They might ask, "Why aren't you in India or something? Why mess around with the performing arts?" But this, insists Kavanaugh, is "a huge mission field."

Before he's through, he hopes to have established a total of seven MasterWorks Festivals, all over the world. The next one—for which the planning is nearly complete—will be in England. MasterWorks takes for its motto, "Soli Deo Gloria," or, "To God alone be the glory." Bach used to mark his manuscripts this way (using the initials S.D.G.); he carved the saying into his organ at Leipzig. Christopher Parkening relates that he keeps a note on his music stand. It says, "Chris, what are you here for?" For what purpose do you make music? This is the question they ask in Winona Lake, and elsewhere, and, by all evidence, they rejoice in the answer. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

Transcript from *Larry King Live*, June 23, 2004

LARRY KING: "Wichita, Kansas, you're on the air with Martha Stewart, hello!"
WICHITA: "Hi, Larry! Hi, Martha!"
MARTHA STEWART: "Hello there."
LARRY KING: "What's your question, Wichita?"
WICHITA: "Well, I have two questions. First, is there any way to fix a tuile cookie if it snaps when you're filling it with berry compôte, and second, did anything good come out of your eighteen months in prison?"
LARRY KING: "What about it, Martha. Busted tuile cakes?"
MARTHA STEWART: "Cookie, Larry. A tuile is a marvelous crispy cookie that you can shape when right out of the oven, and no, I'm sorry, caller, the best advice I can give you there is to make several dozen more than you actually need. Leftovers can be frozen for weeks and are delicious crumbled over homemade ice cream, or as a treat for some very special children."
WICHITA: "Thanks, Martha."
LARRY KING: "And your time in the Big House? Lessons? Thoughts?"
MARTHA STEWART: "Well, I did develop an appreciation for stainless steel."
LARRY KING: "Stainless steel?"
MARTHA STEWART: "The glossy look of a stainless-steel drinking cup is really quite wonderful. And of course the shiny reflective surface of a simple combination toilet and washstand can brighten up even the smallest living spaces. It's really getting back to the simplest kind of elegance—"
LARRY KING: "Any big girls try to put the moves on you?"
MARTHA STEWART: "Excuse me?"
LARRY KING: "You hear so much about women in prison, is all."
MARTHA STEWART: "Um . . ."
LARRY KING: "Tomorrow! Charles Nelson Reilly for the whole hour!"

Transcript from *The O'Reilly Factor*, July 12, 2004

O'REILLY: "What's it like when people come up to you and say, 'Hey, Martha, I hate your guts because my house was never clean enough and I could never make that tomato salad like you did'?"
MARTHA STEWART: "Well, honestly, Bill, no one has ever come up to me and said that."
O'REILLY: "Okay, fair enough. But I'm saying it now."
MARTHA STEWART: "What was so hard about my tomato salad? You chop some tomatoes, you pour over some good olive oil—"
O'REILLY: "Some of that extra-virgin stuff?"
MARTHA STEWART: "Well, preferably."
O'REILLY: "You see, Martha, with all due respect, this is why you did the hard time, okay? Okay? The whole extra-virgin thing. The ice sculptures. The spring floral decorations with dried irises and seasonal spray. The raffia tablecloths that were impossible to weave—"
MARTHA STEWART: "Wait a minute, Bill. Are you telling me that you tried to weave raffia tablecloths?"
O'REILLY: "If you don't mind, I'm asking the questions, here."
MARTHA STEWART: "And the flower arranging, Bill?"
O'REILLY: "Stop ducking the question, Miss Stewart."
MARTHA STEWART: "I just have a hard time imagining you sitting there trying to stitch dried irises into a sunflower-burst pattern."
O'REILLY: "I like to keep a nice home, Miss Stewart, okay? Sue me. But the point is, you had a lot of really hard stuff that was impossible for the normal person, with a busy schedule interviewing people on television or whatever, to do. And so a lot of those people, Miss Stewart, ordinary Americans who just wanted to create a cheerful, colorful environment, were, quite frankly, cheering last year when you did the perp walk outside of Jean-Georges. Okay? I'll give you the last word."
MARTHA STEWART: "Bill, I am genuinely sorry that you found some of my projects difficult to complete. I'm pretty sure it was just a matter of getting a glue gun and a large flat surface to work on."
O'REILLY: "I don't buy it, Miss Stewart. And neither do the vast majority of Americans, okay? But you're a courageous woman for coming on *The Factor* and facing up to this stuff."
MARTHA STEWART: "Were the irises completely dry? Because sometimes they buckle and—"
O'REILLY: "Next on *The Factor*! The Reverend Al Sharpton!"

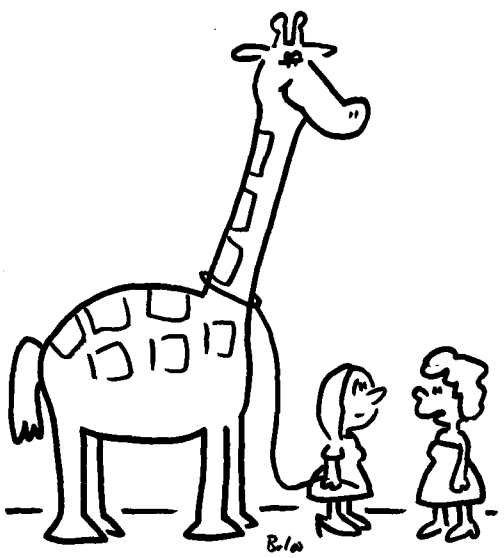
Transcript from *Live with Regis and Bill Clinton!* August 10, 2004

BILL CLINTON: "And then you take the Pop-Tarts and . . . what?"
MARTHA STEWART: "Just dump them on a tin plate. It's really that easy."
BILL CLINTON: "And what do you call this dish?"
MARTHA STEWART: "Well, a few months ago, I called it Something To Do Before Exercise Time. But now, why don't we call it Nibbles for a Wine-Tasting Brunch."
BILL CLINTON: "Mmmmmmmmm. Good Pop-Tarts!"
REGIS: "What did you miss the most, Martha, in those eighteen months of incarceration?"
MARTHA STEWART: "Well, I guess it's hard to say, Reege. So many things. Truffle season. Daniel Boulud's braised lamb shank. Antiquing in Bucks County. A toilet with a door and walls around it. Small things."
REGIS: "That's fascinating."
MARTHA STEWART: "I can't stress the toilet thing enough, though. I really missed that. A toilet with a door and walls around it. That's a good thing."
BILL CLINTON: "Mmmmmmmmmmmm. Pop-Tarts."
REGIS: "And do you have any feelings about, I don't know, a debt to society or something?"
MARTHA STEWART: "Did I mention the toilet? I'm all paid up, okay?"
BILL CLINTON: "What's your next dish for us, Martha?"
MARTHA STEWART: "Macaroni and cheese. First, open the box. Then, dump the contents of the can into . . ."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP !!!!

AIRPORT SECURITY (BLANKET)



"The first step, Irene, is admitting to yourself that you are *a compulsive shopper."*

Class Warfare, Cont.

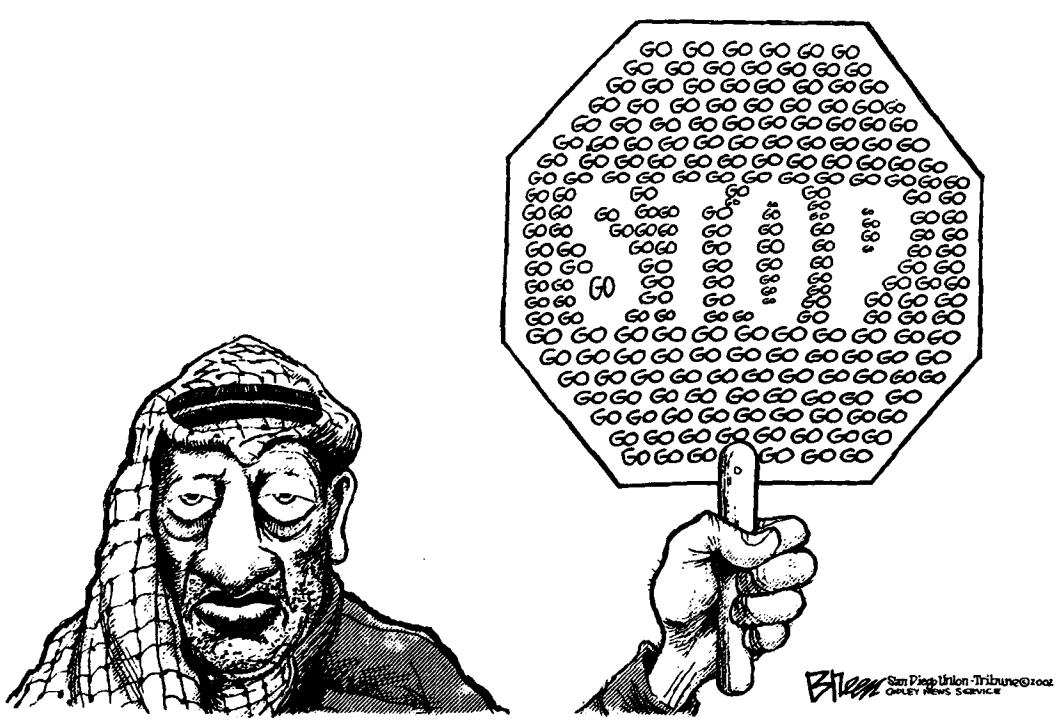
Gore's still for the people;
Fat cats get ill-used.
Lieberman, uncomfortable,
Wants to be excused.
Joe is in a pickle,
Having promised Gore
He'd defer if hapless Al
Cranked it up once more.

—W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A BIGGER BETTER GUARD DOG HOUSE

HALTING SUICIDE BOMBERS...



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Florida Refought

MARK MILLER

Bush v. Gore: The Question of Legitimacy, edited by Bruce Ackerman (Yale, 256 pp., $26.95)

A YEAR and a half ago, a close presidential election was the biggest political story anyone could imagine. Bush's victory in the Supreme Court sent legal academia into hysterics: The Court got it stunningly wrong, the constitutional order was in jeopardy, and the Bush presidency would be illegitimate. When the truly unimaginable occurred the following September, former political antagonists suddenly found themselves united behind the leadership of the Bush administration—and all questions of legitimacy suddenly vanished. In an instant, the controversy over hanging chads came to seem remote and inconsequential. The warnings about the stability of the American constitutional order were rendered utterly beside the point as the country absorbed far greater blows and survived with its constitutional integrity intact.

The essays collected in *Bush v. Gore* thus have the somewhat quaint air of a debate that occurred in a long-ago era whose passions and controversies are now mainly of historical interest. Edited by Yale law professor Bruce Ackerman, this slim volume brings together some of the leading lights of the academic Left (Laurence Tribe, Jack Balkin, Mark Tushnet, Margaret Jane Radin) and some more mainstream liberals (Jeffrey Rosen, Guido Calabresi), along with a token pair of pro-Bush conservatives (Charles Fried, Steven Calabresi), to comment on the issues surrounding the Florida election controversy.

By Ismael Roldan

The book's subtitle, "The Question of Legitimacy," refers to two separate questions. The first is the legitimacy of the Bush presidency and its entitlement to exercise the privileges of office—having won that office, so the theory goes, as the result of a questionable judicial action. Although the administration has not yet reached the halfway mark, any doubts about its legitimacy have fairly well been put to rest. It is unlikely that history will look with disfavor upon the president's foreign-policy leadership since September 11, and the apparent closeness of the election has hardly rendered his administration unable to govern. (The one exception may turn out to be a failure to obtain confirmation of judicial nominees.) The second question—the legitimacy of the Supreme Court's majority opinion—is more complicated, but it, too, has been the subject of considerable exaggeration.

The fact that many of the contributors here indulge in just that kind of exaggeration is not surprising. In fact, some of them appear to believe that it is enough simply to compose self-dramatizing expressions of "outrage." Here, for example, is UC-Berkeley's Robert Post: "Until *Bush* v. *Gore*, I had never been embarrassed to teach a decision of the United States Supreme Court. Never. . . . This chapter is about the distress I suffered. . . . [The decision] conspired to inflict a searing and disorienting vision of a world without law, a nation subject to courts who command without accountability. [It] exposed the molten core of constitutional lawmaking, where law and will wrestle in perpetual indeterminacy." And here is Stanford's Margaret Jane Radin: "With *Bush* v. *Gore* something extraordinary happened within the ranks of legal academics. . . . The impetus was a message from . . . a veteran of the anti-war and civil rights struggles of the 60s, asking whether anyone was willing to speak truth to power. . . . I wanted to protest in the streets."

What *is* surprising, though, is the tepid defense of the opinion offered by the conservatives. Although this volume was never intended to provide a point-counterpoint match-up of Bush and Gore supporters, the conservatives who weigh in here do not attempt to tackle the most difficult arguments posed by the pro-Gore camp. For example, Fried, a former solicitor general under Reagan, argues that *Bush* v. *Gore* is not the extraordinary exercise of conservative judicial will that some in the pro-Gore camp have asserted. It is simply one of the "large number of important Supreme Court decisions on which reasonable minds might differ." Fried's argument is correct as far as it goes, and elegantly stated, but it only cuts through the rhetoric of the pro-Gore side, not the legal arguments, and only succeeds in getting us back as far as the starting point.

Calabresi, the other conservative commentator here, does not address the decision itself at any length. Perhaps surprisingly, Calabresi, who served in

Mr. Miller, a Washington lawyer, was a member of the trial team representing then-Gov. George W. Bush and Richard B. Cheney in two of the Florida election cases.

BooksNow
To order these books, (24hrs, 365 days) please call (800) 962-6651 (Ext. 3700) or visit us at http://www.booksnow.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the White House and Justice Department under Reagan and Bush I, believes that the Supreme Court was without jurisdiction to decide what was fundamentally a political question. The Florida vote was a statistical tie, and there were several politically accountable persons and entities—from Florida secretary of state Katherine Harris to the U.S. Congress—that were statutorily or constitutionally empowered to resolve that tie. In Calabresi's view, *Bush* v. *Gore* demonstrates the price we pay for being a nation of court-worshipers—comfortable with thinking of courts, rather than legislatures, as referees of the political process itself.

In one respect, however, it might not be so surprising to find no real conservative defense of *Bush* v. *Gore* here. Conservatives have always had good reason to be ambivalent about the majority opinion, because it reached a politically desirable result but on grounds that even many conservatives consider questionable. A 7–2 majority found that the hand recount violated the Equal Protection Clause because there were no consistent statewide standards for the counters to use in divining the "intent" of the undervoters—meaning that similarly situated voters could be accorded disparate treatment. Writing in *The New Criterion* soon after the dust had settled, Judge Robert Bork called the equal-protection holding "fraught with complications and dangers," and he was right. Not only does the Court's opinion have the potential to constitutionalize all disparities in vote-counting across a given state (which is why the majority opinion cautioned that its holding was "limited to the present circumstances") but its reliance on the Equal Protection Clause sounds more like Earl Warren than William Rehnquist. In fact, several of the essays here argue that the conservative majority was being hypocritical when it relied on the same legal maneuver that it had long criticized in certain Warren Court decisions.

But to the extent that liberals seek to use the longtime conservative critique against conservatives themselves, they are playing on the wrong field. As an intellectual matter, the true conservative position was not the one articulated by the unsigned majority opinion but the one contained in the concurring opinion of the chief justice, joined by Justices Scalia and Thomas. The concurring justices argued that the Florida supreme court's opinion constituted a violation of Article II, section 1, clause 2 of the federal Constitution, which requires states to appoint presidential electors "as the Legislature thereof may direct." The Florida court altered the state's legislative scheme in several significant ways. It refused to defer to the decision of the state's highest elected election official, Katherine Harris, not to waive the statutory deadline for submitting returns. It extended the deadline for certifying the election results, thereby shortening the period in which a contest proceeding could occur, and it ordered an unprecedented manual recount of so-called "undervotes." The Article II rationale has all the hallmarks of a truly conservative idea: It is not only a correct and compelling application of the law, but it also provides a far more limited basis for the ruling than the equal-protection rationale.

Ultimately, the problem for conservatives in justifying *Bush* v. *Gore* lies in the presence of two different visions of what conservative jurisprudence should be. On one side is the vision of judicial restraint—Alexander Bickel's "passive virtues"—in which the courts are guided by humility and a genuinely conservative conception of their limited power. On the other side is the more expansive view that the courts might play a useful role in implementing conservative political goals. The difference is between conservative *methods* and conservative *outcomes*, and the two are not always perfectly aligned. Some conservatives are coming to believe that, at least with respect to *Bush* v. *Gore*, the Rehnquist Court might have abandoned judicial restraint in an effort to implement a conservative outcome.

Even with a long-sought majority on the Supreme Court, many conservatives do not feel entirely comfortable with its playing an activist role. The conservative instinct is always on the side of government restraint, and this may account, at least in part, for the difficulty some have had in rallying to the defense of *Bush* v. *Gore*. It may be true that the liberal critique of *Bush* is no longer relevant to the nation's political life, but the *conservative* critique may yet be. **NR**

Not Our Kind, Dear

DIGBY ANDERSON

Snobbery: The American Version, by Joseph Epstein (Houghton Mifflin, 274 pp., $25)

THEY are thorough chaps, the staff at NATIONAL REVIEW. Before they sent me this book for review, they telephoned, asked if I might be interested, and sent me details so I could decide. I did not need details. Who would not want to review a book on snobbery? I even got quite excited waiting for it to arrive. At last we would have a full-length defense of snobbery. That's obviously what it would be, and about time too. Why obviously a defense? For the same reason that a book on racism, xenophobia, class hatred, and cruelty to small animals and children would obviously have to be a defense of them. All right, I shouldn't have put it quite like that. Try some quotation marks: What needs defending is "xenophobia" and the others, that is, what passes today for xenophobia; *that* defense would be great fun to read. Xenophobia, racism, and cruelty to kittens are bad things. So what modern liberal society does is use these words to describe behavior it dislikes, but which is not xenophobic, etc. So patriotism gets put down as xenophobia. The traditional disciplining of savage young children to make them civilized adults is put down as child cruelty, and a sensitive attachment to the interests and lifestyles of one's family, friends, and community is called class hatred.

Much of what is denounced as snobbery today is simply a thoroughly commendable attachment to elitism, to high standards, and a concomitant rejection or ridicule of low standards

Mr. Anderson is director of The Social Affairs Unit, a London-based think tank. His latest book is *Losing Friends*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

together with an equally commendable refined and precise distinction of the social manners that go with them. What *Snobbery* would surely do then would be to take modern illustrations of "snobbery" and show them to be no such thing. That is not what Joseph Epstein does. Now, there is no reason why Epstein should write the book that ought to be written about "snobbery"—except that what he has written in its stead is neither right nor amusing.

Some of what he thinks is snobbery is not. Thus he quotes V. S. Naipaul: "The melancholy thing about the world is that it is full of stupid and common people, and the world is run for the benefit of the stupid and the common." This is not mere snobbery; in fact, I don't think it's snobbish at all. Naipaul regrets it as a melancholy fact; he doesn't revel in it or use it to advance himself. And what he asserts is no more than the commendable elitism mentioned above, a care for quality. Epstein is wrong about it. He is also wrong to declare that Evelyn Waugh was a snob; wrong in the sense that there is much more to say about Waugh and that these other things—his wit, his social perceptiveness, his genius for characters—were inextricably tied up with what Epstein calls snobbery. He tells a story about Alfred Knopf's brother, who knew Knopf's fondness for good wine, served him an expensive bottle, failed to get a reaction, asked him what he thought of it, and received the reply, "How can I tell, drinking it out of these glasses?" He is wrong to call this snobbery. It is very clever and funny. It is a neat, gentle, social put-down and it contains quite as much of the truth as befits a dinner conversation (glasses do matter). He cites, as an instance of food snobbery, guests' later describing the serving of iceberg lettuce at a dinner as equivalent to a serious grammatical mistake. It is, of course, much more serious than that. Iceberg lettuce has no pleasant taste and is full of water. Olive oil will not stick to it. To serve it to one's guests is tasteless and downright inhospitable.

Epstein is wrong too about alleged instances of snobbery that belong to a social milieu he doesn't understand. He cites more than one instance of aristocrats' not noticing servants and behaving as if they were not there. But if one's life is full of servants, that is indeed the only way to behave to them, at least most of the time. Anything else would turn daily life into a performance before an audience and leave no privacy at all.

■

Much of what is denounced as snobbery today is simply a thoroughly commendable attachment to elitism.

■

It might be better if I, an Englishman, did not comment on many of Epstein's alleged instances of snobbery in American life: He covers the WASP culture, Ivy League colleges, the Social Register, the academy, and politics. But he has a whole chapter on food and gets that mostly wrong too. He favors old-fashioned, plain, decent American cooking and sneers at sea urchins and andouillette sausage. The French who know about such things prize andouillettes. Both they and the Japanese prize sea urchins. They are quite right to do so. Why should affluent Americans have to refuse them in favor of a baked potato and iceberg lettuce? And it is not snobbish to talk of a restaurant's serving "a fairly reliable risotto." Risotto takes some 20 minutes to cook and cannot be kept hot. Imagine trying to cook it for dozens of customers arriving at different times, or finishing their preceding course at unexpected times. That's why most restaurant risottos are unreliable and the best are only "fairly reliable."

Some of his contempt for silly food behavior is justified. But in most of these cases the behavior is silly, ignorant, tasteless, or merely fashionable as much as snobbish. Sometimes he does describe genuine snobbery as, for instance, in a chapter on name dropping. But here there is a different problem. Genuine snobbery is not good behavior. But it is not excitingly bad. It is dull. So the anecdotes about it are dull too. Snobbery is often described as cruel and Epstein seems to accept this too. But it is not very cruel. What a feeble society we have become when we consider the odd snobbish remark a noteworthy act of cruelty. These remarks are made to and about adults. These adults can and do get their own back by making equally "cruel" remarks either to the snob or behind his back. And that is why snobbery is so harmless even when it is about races and sexes. Both sides can play.

As, indeed, can Epstein: He says that the French, apart from odd individuals, have "no record of bravery." The great Duke of Wellington, who was a past master at what now passes for snobbery, would never have said such a preposterous thing and would not have defeated Napoleon, his brave marshals, and his courageous troops if he had thought it. Epstein claims as a "solid, sordid fact" that "every Frenchman is fundamentally in business for himself." That's not true, and—even more important—it's not funny or well-phrased. What a missed opportunity *Snobbery* is. **NR**

DAUGHTER

Heartbreak for her
alone in her room
all made up
to go out and no one
calling to ask her
and I only a father
drawing a sigh
dying for her

I hear you singing
always
in back of the car
when I drove you home
when you were small
singing
the most beautiful song

—RICHARD O'CONNELL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Mad Doctors

PAUL C. VITZ

The Road to Malpsychia: Humanistic Psychology and Our Discontents, by Joyce Milton (Encounter, 310 pp., $26.95)

If you want to understand the cultural revolution that took place in the 1960s, this book is a good place to start. Joyce Milton implies, without ever saying so directly, that psychological theories can bring about dramatic cultural change. We are used to the fact that political, economic, and religious ideas can cause revolutions; Milton's account offers evidence that psychological ideas can have the same power.

"Malpsychia" means bad psychology, and the chief characters in this book are the proponents of one particular kind of it: Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers, whose brand of "humanistic psychology" focused on "self-actualization," "getting in touch with your feelings" and expressing them openly. Milton also brings in for extensive treatment the LSD guru, Timothy Leary, and his sidekick Richard Alpert, later known as Ram Dass. Leary and Alpert had Ph.D.'s in psychology (Leary from UC-Berkeley, Alpert from Stanford); they both taught in the psychology department at Harvard.

Milton begins with some background: the contributions of cultural anthropologists Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict. It was Mead and Benedict, in the 1930s and 1940s, who first presented to the American public the concept of cultural moral relativity, especially with regard to sexual behavior—an idea that would bear fruit in the climate of the 1960s. While the book sometimes bogs down in too much anecdotal detail, Milton does a good job of capturing the '60s zeitgeist, and in particular of laying out the context out of which that zeitgeist emerged. The ideas that were to erupt into the culture at large in the '60s were already bubbling in the American psyche several decades earlier. By 1960, large numbers of Americans, especially college students, had been persuaded by their professors (and elements in the media) that their major problem was that they were repressed, especially when it came to sex. Freud's message, combined with that of Mead and Benedict, produced a widespread seeking for release. Into this explosive mixture fell two lighted matches: the concept of self-actualization, which received the imprimatur of the new "scientific" psychology, and drugs, such as LSD, whose use was touted by two Harvard psychologists. (Yet a third lighted match was the sudden availability of another drug: the "pill." But Milton does not take up that issue.)

Abraham Maslow was a representative New York secular Jewish intellectual of the '30s and '40s, and a personal friend of Mead and Benedict. He believed that the highest level of human functioning was "self-actualization"; the self-actualized were the secular saints of the world of humanistic psychology. Maslow did not restrict his concerns to psychology, however. He wanted to transform society, proclaiming, "I sometimes think the world will be saved by psychologists—in the very broadest sense—or it will not be saved at all." By "salvation" he meant the creation of a society filled with self-actualized people, those who had gotten beyond their "lower deficiency needs" (for example, the basic desires for safety and social belonging) and were now focused on such things as truth, beauty, and justice. He had no use for traditional religions, and even proposed a substitute for them: the "peak experience," a kind of mystical (but explicitly secular) oneness with the universe. Maslow contended that to reach this goal, a person had to throw off the inhibitions and restrictions that resulted from our culture and family upbringing. He promoted these ideas with evangelical fervor.

Milton's other key figure is Carl Rogers, who rejected his Midwestern Protestant heritage as a young graduate student and went on to be a major psychologist. Like Maslow, he proposed that the patient reject inhibitions, and self-actualize in a free-flowing contact with emotions and openness to life. Rogers was the ultimate anti-Puritan; he reduced reality and morality entirely to the personal choice of the individual, whose self was assumed to be entirely good. In his later writings, Rogers endorsed a complete subjectivity, in which each person is believed to create his own reality.

Rogers believed strongly in encounter groups, in which patients were encouraged to become uninhibited, self-expressing individuals. Rogers subscribed with enthusiasm to Maslow's comment that "face-to-face therapy is a luxury. It's too slow, and too expensive. It's not the right answer if you think, as I shamelessly do, in terms of changing the whole world."

But Rogers troubled Maslow, who had a wider education and greater respect for knowledge. Maslow considered Rogers's view of human nature shockingly simplistic and optimistic. Rogers was like that character from folk wisdom, the man who invents a hammer and then sees everything in the world as a nail: His theory of the fully functioning or self-actualized person made him see every personal and social problem through an extraordinarily narrow lens.

Milton's book is less about the theories themselves than about the lives of the people who produced them. She has the "dirt"—many anecdotes—and it is clear that Leary and many of the other figures discussed here led very disordered and in many cases disturbing lives. Milton tells how Rogers reacted when his loyal and supportive wife of many years became chronically ill. At the height of his fame, and filled with energy, Rogers greatly resented the restraints that being a caretaker required: "If I give up my life or my personhood to take care of her then I am going to become bitter. I am going to become angry inside at what I have given up. I am not going to want to be with her—it would be out of a sense of duty—and that isn't the kind of relationship I want." The idea of responsibility, or of love involving self-sacrifice, was missing from his intellectual system. Nor did his theory have a serious answer to the question of how to cope with suffering.

Milton also recounts how Rogers destroyed the Immaculate Heart of Mary order of nuns in Los Angeles. In 1967, the order had 560 teaching sisters, several elementary schools, and its own college and high school. Soon after the introduction of the encounter-group mentality—

Mr. Vitz is a professor of psychology at New York University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

getting in touch with feelings, under Rogers's guidance—the order fell apart. Most of the sisters left the community; some got married; others moved into lesbian relationships. The whole gruesome process has been described in detail by others, but Milton gives a good summary. Rogers appears to have felt no remorse over the results of his ministrations; he was opposed to Christianity in any case.

Rogers also seems to have done a pretty thorough job on St. Anthony's Franciscan Seminary in Santa Barbara. He introduced encounter groups and the lessening of discipline there as well. In 1993, the seminary was identified by the London *Guardian* as the center of the "most widespread and scandalous" pedophilia ring in the history of the American Catholic Church.

The person whose life is most thoroughly treated by Milton is Leary—and it must be said that his life is quite an amazing spectacle. A lapsed Catholic, Leary loathed Christianity with what Milton describes as a "laser-like concentration." He declared that Mother Teresa and Pope John Paul II were two of the most evil people alive, but admired Jack Kevorkian and his "work." Even Maslow saw Leary as a psychopathic personality type. Milton calls him "a consummate con man." He was an alcoholic and an almost-out-of-control womanizer; his first wife committed suicide, saying in her note, "I can't live without your love." He routinely had sex with his patients. He took psilocybin and LSD hundreds of times, pushed them on students, and hoped to turn the whole country into a turned-on nation. Milton states: "The goal was to have 4 million Americans turned on to LSD by 1969, a number that Leary figured would be the critical figure for blowing the mind of the American society."

The tale Milton tells is fascinating, but she does not put her argument as clearly as she might have. The reader needs to understand that the stories of these amoral and disordered lives are not just anecdotes: They are, rather, directly relevant to the theories of these psychologists. When a theorist proposes an answer to the question of how we can live *well*, the theorist's life offers valuable evidence. In the case of these characters in Joyce Milton's fine book, the conclusion is as sad as it is obvious: Psychologist, heal thyself. **NR**

■ **MUSIC** ■

The Song Is Ended

ROGER SCRUTON

On a fine summer day the inhabitants of the Wiltshire valley where I live gathered in a neighbor's garden to celebrate the Queen's jubilee. There was beer, barbecue, flags—and, of course, the singing of our three national anthems: Welsh, Scottish, and British. The tuneless croaks of our neighbors, as they tried for the thousandth time to squeeze their patriotic sentiments into these quaint words and courtly rhythms, reminded me of how small a part music now plays in the social life of ordinary people. Singing is strange to them, instruments unknown, and most of the music they hear is not listened to but overheard, piped into their lives by the disc jockeys who control the musical diet of mankind, and who are busy replacing the solid protein of hymns and folksongs with the sugar, starch, and glutamate of pop.

After a beer or two, The Hot Tomatoes were announced: four middle-aged men in green-and-orange T-shirts, the lead guitarist bald on top but with wisps of graying hair tied in a ponytail. They began with a yet more grotesque rendering of the national anthem, which sounded in their electric instrumentation like an amplified whisper from the grave. And then, with wobbling paunches and the wiggling of arthritic hips, The Hot Tomatoes evoked the early days of Elizabeth's reign in songs that spoke of the fun and frenzy of my youth; the songs of Bill Haley & His Comets, Little Richard, Elvis, the Beatles, and the Rolling Stones sounded above the hayfields in a thin and ghostly imitation.

Mr. Scruton is a writer, philosopher, and composer. His new book, *The West and the Rest*, will be published by ISI in September.

The Queen herself celebrated the jubilee with a public rendition of a Beatles song, and the aging Brian May played the national anthem on his electric guitar before a million loyal subjects. The Jubilee Honours List contained a knighthood for Mick Jagger. Yet, far from normalizing rock, these attempts to make it part of the establishment, and to decorate the old geezers who invented it, serve merely to emphasize its inseparable connection with the hormones of youth, and its utter absurdity when presented as the lingua franca of mature middle age.

Elvis, fortunately, had the good taste to die before growing up. As a rule, the modern rock star does not even attempt to grow up; hence the shock produced by Bruce Springsteen, awoken by 9/11 from the natural silence of the superannuated idol, revealing in his latest album that he is not a rebel but a farmer, family man, and patriot. More usually, if a pop star grows at all it is not up but sideways, like Mick Jagger or Michael Jackson, becoming waxy and encrusted as though covered by a much-repainted mask. There are exceptions, of course: Paul McCartney has, since his knighthood, devoted himself to writing tonal oratorios, while David Bowie has entered into a kind of postmodern partnership with Philip Glass. But these exceptions prove the rule. Most rock stars leave their youth only to enter a state of suspended animation, waiting to be dropped once again into the vitalizing fluid of publicity. And then they perform a thin, stiff version of those old and electrifying numbers, adding wrinkles to the music to match the wrinkles on the face.

Listening to The Hot Tomatoes perform the hits of my youth, I reflected on how little pop has developed since the days when it first entered our perceptions, and also how insulated it has become from the rest of our musical culture. The rhythms, instruments, melodic phrases, and core tonal harmonies that dominate the music of, say, Oasis were fully explored by Chuck Berry and the Rolling Stones. Rhythm machines, synthesizers, and mixing have changed the sound, filling up the holes in the music and making a continuous background carpet in place of the measured

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stepping stones of the twelve-bar blues. But the raw materials are the same. Every now and then someone hits on a melody and finds a group of teenagers to mouth it. Subtract the work of the engineers, however, and the tune will turn out to have been done to death in several previous incarnations.

Popular music has not always been so static; nor has it been so resolutely unable to learn from those who really know. Jazz grew out of ragtime, which is downstream from the mazurkas of Chopin, and in Art Tatum you can hear echoes of Debussy, Delius, and Ravel. Gershwin and Tippett, Milhaud and Ravel, all learned from the blues, and Gershwin influenced the development of both jazz and popular song. Cole Porter and Duke Ellington were sophisticated composers, with an incalculable debt to the classical tradition; their harmonic language became the foundation of the Broadway musical. Terry Teachout's recent articles in *Commentary* on the American popular song testify to a wonderfully rich tradition of melodic and harmonic inspiration, which is scarcely separable from the development of modern music generally.

The dynamic interaction between serious and popular music came to an abrupt end with rock. With a few exceptions, the only input into modern pop is pop: Oasis is downstream from no one save the Beatles. The musical language has remained fixed in the moment of the Sixties, gradually losing the life and the melodic invention of those years, to become a kind of mechanical parody of its own infertile repertoire.

But although the language has remained unchanged, the way of producing and consuming it has suffered a radical upheaval. Modern pop is essentially processed music, in which the major chord is engineered into fast-food flavors and packaged behind a juvenile face. The songs are machine-made, according to a standard specification, and the best that we can hope from them, musically speaking, is a catchy tune, as in the Spice Girls' "Wannabe." The music is often inseparable from the video, or impossible to perform without the engineers who are its true creators—as in the notorious case of Milli Vanilli, whose Grammy award of 1990 was quite unfairly rescinded when it was discovered that they did not perform the music that was recorded in their name.

■

Modern pop is essentially processed music, in which the major chord is engineered into fast-food flavors.

■

Sometimes there is no music at all, but only packaging, as in rap or techno-rock. The successful pop star does not in fact need to perform his music, for he is not judged as a musician but as the center of a cult. We have witnessed a reversal of the traditional priorities of musical appreciation. Cole Porter was loved for his music, which lived on after his death, and can still be sung and played to its original effect. The modern pop star is not loved for his music: The music is loved for him. It is the background accompaniment to his incarnation on the video. The packaging has taken over from its contents, so as to address itself to the great religious deficit in the lives of the young. Modern pop offers the "real presence" of a divinity, and the fan is not so much a music lover as a member of a sect, whose identity is symbolized in the group or singer who recruits him.

At the same time, the natural rhythms of the human voice and the human performer have been driven out by a constant and unnuanced ostinato. Nor should we blame the old geezers for this. In the early days of their emancipation, rhythm was being discovered as a property of human life, a magic element that could be conjured from the inner reaches of the human body. Listen to the Elvis of "Jailhouse Rock," or to any guitar solo by Eric Clapton, and you will hear what I mean. In the music of such great performers life is externalized as rhythm. Elvis relied on the micro-rhythms within his vocal line to infect the listener, and hardly needed percussion. Clapton defined the beat through the guitar solo, which the drums must then follow, not lead.

In modern pop songs the roles are reversed. Percussion does not obey the melodic line but commands it, and the drum-kit is fashioned into iron rail-tracks by the engineer. Hence the emergence of rap, from which the arts of melody and of song itself have been finally abolished. The words of a performer like Eminem belong with his art: They are a denial of music and of the human voice that speaks through music. The rap artist is really a ventriloquist's dummy, and what speaks from his mouth is the machine.

Rap is simply the logical conclusion of pop. In almost all modern pop, rhythm is treated by the engineers as a repetitive frame, and the result is the death of rhythm. Real rhythm is a pattern rather than a frame, and patterns are significant when they are not stated but implied. In my view, this is the root cause of the sterility and vacuousness of pop. When the sap dried in the old geezers, the engineers took over, the voice became a face, and the music ossified. And now it thumps in the background of modern life, filling every silence, and reminding us that humanity has ceased to sing. **NR**

The Right Reaction

NATIONAL REVIEW

"I can only hope that the civil-rights division . . . will not make policy and personnel decisions based upon the wishes [and] recommendations of National Review."

—Sen. Ted Kennedy refers to John J. Miller's "Fort Liberalism" (NR, May 6, 2002) during Judiciary Committee oversight hearings of the Department of Justice's civil-rights division.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

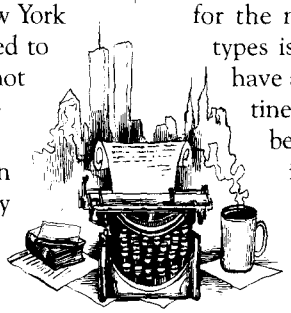
■ CITY DESK ■

A City That Barks

RICHARD BROOKHISER

DOGS, dogs, dogs, dogs, dogs. New Yorkers live in the midst of dogs. My apartment building has about 500 inhabitants, and one-tenth of them are dogs. Why do they proliferate so?

Cats some time ago passed dogs as America's most popular pet. There must be more of them in New York than dogs. But cats don't need to be walked, and they would not abide leashes. Cats are private and self-conscious. If they don't get exactly the attention they want, they want to be by themselves. The only cat I know sits on the floor of my shoemaker; I have tried to woo it for years; though it does not repel my familiarities, it scorns to welcome them. Dogs by contrast have neither pride, nor shame, nor awareness of playing a role in society. They will eat, drink, defecate, inquire, shout, frolic, run, waddle if they can't run, and copulate if the urge takes them, all in broad daylight. Dogs are like supermodels and politicians—totally public creatures.



Another reason dogs catch our attention is that they show more variation among themselves. Pigeons, the most common urban bird, are, you realize when you study them, beautifully feathered. We seldom make the effort because they are all the same size, and hence blur into anonymity. The same is true of sparrows and (substituting fur for feathers) squirrels. Speciesism makes us pay attention to people, yet they too occupy a narrow range of sizes and shapes. There may be a twenty-inch height differential between the woman running the Korean laundry and the man making the lay-up at the basketball court, but even that is only a third of the size of the shorter human. Barring deformity, there are no adult people half the height of other adult people. But an Irish wolfhound can be four or five times as long, or as tall, as a Yorkie. Dog coloration varies as wildly as size. New York has white, brown, black, and yellow men. But it does not have brindled men. There are probably New Yorkers from Dalmatia, but none that look like Dalmatians. Dogs draw our eyes because any dog you see you may be seeing for the first time.

Money and taste have always bred fantastic and extreme urban dogs. In *Vanity Fair*, someone advises Becky Sharp about buying a dog. "Why not have a Danish dog? I know of one as big as a camel leopard, by Jove. It would almost pull your brougham. Or . . . a little pug that would go into one of Lord Steyne's snuff-boxes?" Another reason for the number of odd urban dog types is safety. Now that coyotes have spread throughout the continental United States, it would be folly to own a Chihuahua in the country, or in any but the most settled suburbs. In the city, freaks of nature can thrive.

Masters are famous for sharing their personalities with their dogs. In the big city, that means sharing neuroses. Every seasoned apartment dweller has had the experience of being confined in an elevator with a yapper, whose voice is ringing and insistent as a little car alarm, and its mistress (the owners of yappers generally seem to be women), whose admonitions—"Be *qui*-et! Be *qui*-et!"—only egg it on. There are the undisciplined dogs, whisked away before they can be identified, who decorate lobby carpets with the action painting of their urine. There are the child-substitute dogs, addressed with the vocabulary of intimacy—"Come on, baby, come on, darling"—which make one momentarily wonder if the Hasidim were right to flee modernity. There is the dog soul trapped in the wrong breed—the box-headed, broad-shouldered, bandy-legged bulldog, built to dig in his heels and bite, who is afraid to go out on the sidewalk.

Human beings do worse than offload their personalities onto their pets; they use their pets as weapons. The worst dogfights are not between dogs, but between people about dogs. The battles between up- and down-stairs neighbors over daylong barking are as bitter as politics. The battles between dog owners and parents over the allocation of park space to dog runs and playgrounds can literally be issues of politics at the community-board level. In a typical Democratic national convention, how many members of the New York delegation got their start as public nuisances by their ability to adjudicate such disputes? (New York delegates to Republican conventions have never been elected to such awesome positions of authority.)

Many New York dogs, like many New Yorkers, should not be living here. When I see the runners and bounders, made to annoy sheep or to retrieve ducks, forced to navigate the forest of legs and strollers that is a greenmarket; or the short-legged and the low-slung, built for decorating ladies' laps or hunting in burrows, trundling their bellies over the hot asphalt of crosswalks; or the thick-maned, bred to the Alps or northern China, making no complaint on a 97-degree day beyond thrusting out their red or blue tongues; or the ears of every breed, all more sensitive than ours, buffeted by road work and the horns of impatient delivery trucks, then I mourn for human perversity and stubbornness.

■

Human beings do worse than offload their personalities onto their pets; they use their pets as weapons.

■

But then there are the dogs that seem perfectly at home. One such lived in my building, a huge black and white Akita named Dyoji (not an authentic Japanese name: say it out loud). Dyoji had a big head, big feet, and a barrel of a torso. She was unflappable; I never heard her bark, or saw her startle. She seemed as if she could take whatever you might throw at her, and pad gravely on. She padded off to her reward some time ago, and another Akita took her place, sober as a judge. The New Yorkers who make the papers are people like Al Sharpton and Paris Hilton, but the New Yorkers who make the city work more closely resemble Dyoji. NR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS ■

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

WORK FROM HOME. Health & Nutrition. $1,500–$8,000 Part-time/Full-time. For more information call: 888-211-3394.

WEB BOOKSTORE FOR SALE. Includes 17,000 books on web catalogue, plus new shelving and technology. Estimated value: $250,000. But no reasonable offer refused. Please contact: James Brown, 613-10 Ontario Street West, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 1Y6 CANADA.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

BIBLICAL JOURNALISM. Christian, are you interested in being a journalist? The World Journalism Institute has a number of journalism credit courses scheduled throughout the year in New York City, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, California, and Asheville, North Carolina. Check us out at www.worldji.com. We may be Right for you.

FRIENDSHIP, ETC.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, linked nationally since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 610-358-5049 or www.singlebooklovers.com

HOTELS

"Rated One of New York City 'Best Value' Hotels." ... *Zagats*

New York's all suite hotel is located in the heart of the city, near corporations, theatre & great restaurants. Affordable elegance with all the amenities of home.

MURRAY HILL EAST SUITES

149 E. 39th St. (Bet 3rd & Lex) New York, NY 10016

Reservations 1-800-248-9999

Ask about our special National Review rates.

LITERARY

UNRAVEL A MYSTERY! Armchair Detectives call for free catalogue of vintage to 70s mystery books. E-mail Cloak & Dagger: siralewker@aol.com or phone 845-371-6739.

INDEPENDENT PUBLISHER seeking politically incorrect fiction/non-fiction. ElderberryPress.com. Query: 541-459-6043.

BECOME A PUBLISHED AUTHOR. Quality subsidy publisher accepting manuscripts. 800-695-9599.

PERSONAL

ARTIST, WRITER, INDEPENDENT, 47-year-old female, 5'8", blonde, blue eyes. One divorce. No children. Live in California. I speak French, Italian. I love Sicilians. Contact: noble2002@earthlink.net

ARTIST, ATTRACTIVE, single white female, seeking to correspond with tall, well-built, single, white, literate male 35–45 for long-term relationship. Send photo. NR Box 2341.

RELIGION

TRADITIONAL ANGLICAN WORSHIP, CATHOLIC FAITH, EVANGELICAL PREACHING. Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616. www.anglicancatholic.org

SUPPLY SIDERS GALORE

NRO Financial: Larry Kudlow, Stephen Moore, Alan Reynolds, James Glassman, and many more. Every day at: www.nationalreview.com

VACATION RENTALS

7650+ VACATION RENTALS. http://cyberrentals.com. Rent homes, villas, condos, direct from owners. Color photos & lowest rates. Or call: 800-628-0558 for FREE written guide.

NR REPRINTS AVAILABLE

"The War On Drugs Is Lost" ($1.70)

"To Be a Pilgrim—WFB's Visit to Lourdes" ($1)

"The 100 Best Conservative Movies" ($1.50)

(Please add 50 cents for shipping and handling.)

Send to: NATIONAL REVIEW

215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Specify selection.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word min.). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P.O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Contact: Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Fax: 212-696-0340. Tel.: 212-679-7330.

THE OFFICIAL NR CAP

Official Headgear of America's World Champions.
Stitched Logo.
One Size Fits All.
Navy Blue/Off-White.
$17.95 Each.
Extra Caps $11.00

One cap $17.95. Extra caps $11 each.
Special offer: No shipping/handling charge.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Number of caps: _____

PAYMENT METHOD

❑ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")

Bill to: ❑ MasterCard ❑ Visa

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

* Total payment $ _____

* NY State residents include sales tax.

Mail to: National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Palestine: Essays in Democracy

NEW YORK, JULY 26

IT has been a month since President Bush announced that Arafat needed to be removed before the United States could acknowledge Palestine as a nascent state. The president entered a few more requirements for an acceptable state, among them that there should be an end to corruption, a task which, at home, he has assigned to Congress. The thoughts were sublime, and it's not entirely a bad idea that paradigmatic reforms should here and there be recommended by world leaders. The Pope, of course, does this all the time, and should. And we hear the grand injunctions whenever the United Nations meets or world leaders convene. The attraction of saluting the ideal is so great we don't even notice when rank sinners edge their way into the chorus and sing along lustily. The Soviet Union ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Convention in 1973, about 18 years before the Soviet Union began to show any interest in human rights.

The developments in our war to civilize Arafat are striking. The terrorism goes on, but Arafat now regularly denounces it. We are left to ask whether the denunciation is done with forked tongue, or whether he is actually struggling to alter the old ways. He might be thought to be doing this for the reason that Arafat is adamantly in love with such authority as he does exercise. In order to appease the Jordanians, Egyptians, Saudis, and Syrians, he needs to persuade his neighbors that he can control the destiny of Palestine.

And this is the question. Is what Israel continues to see, *state* terrorism or individual terrorism? If Arafat were to go one step forward and enlist his intelligence forces to discover and then to abort scheduled terrorism, is it possible that he would earn the kind of international acceptance he seeks, as leader of a Palestinian state?

What is certainly the case is that the sponsoring terrorist organizations, most notably the Hamas group, are not going to suspend their work until they are immobilized by internal security. But here Arafat has to fear less the Israelis than his own militants. If he had at his disposal a magic wand that would turn all Palestinian terrorists into ice the moment they set out toward Israel with explosives, can anyone predict with authority whether at this point he'd use that power? Or in doing so, does he believe that he would be traducing the ultimate democratic mission of Palestine? And the big question: Is that ultimate vision the incorporation of the West Bank as a state—or does he believe that the democratic mandate holds the West Bank to be a mere way station en route to the expulsion of the Jews from Israel?

The end of the State of Israel is simply not going to happen, and one has to proceed on the assumption that Arafat knows this. Some years ago Norman Podhoretz made the point that apparent advances in negotiations between Israel and Palestine were most usefully likened to negotiations between North Vietnam and South Vietnam from 1961 to 1972. No matter what was said, hinted at, endured, suffered, the North Vietnamese were headed for total control of the eastern Indochinese peninsula. By his reckoning, no declarations by the Palestinians, under the auspices of Camp David or Oslo or whomever, can be trusted.

What is not examined here is the role of democratic mechanisms on the Palestinian scene. It is common knowledge that perhaps a third of the inhabitants of the West Bank yearn simply for a simple cessation of the hostilities; perhaps a third think themselves armed with a counter-warrant to Israel's, entitling them to reclaim the forfeited territories; and then a third—clericals, professionals, educators—who seek negotiation but are not averse to taking advantage of any perceived weakness in the enemy or in the enemy's supporters.

"When you're done watching it, be sure to rewind."

What does Mr. Bush look for, then, as the likeliest conciliation of these forces? That they will cling to Arafat, as their democratically elected leader? Do they look to him to judge the initiatives of the terrorists? When Israeli thunder strikes at Hamas leaders in the middle of the night, do such Palestinians view this as nothing more than a vicissitude of war?

Mr. Bush will no doubt continue with the general injunctions to democratic arrangements in Palestine without Arafat as leader. But these cannot plausibly reform the West Bank until there is a stout opposition press and political opposition. And there will never be a political opposition that cedes the existing territories in the West Bank, housing 200,000 Israelis, to the enemy. Bush can't wrest democracy from a stone, not even in sacred historical territories.

On Breaking Bones

NEW YORK, JULY 30

THE dumbest saw that ever made its way to workaday myth is the one about how sticks and stones will break our bones but words will never hurt us. It isn't even half true. It's true that a stone can kill someone, as fallen Arabian women discover every now and again, but why does that mean that the words of the man who sentences you to death do not hurt you? Or even the words of your associates who deplore your conduct? Does sticking a tongue out at you count as stick-and-stone, or as mere reprobation?

It is a part of constitutional law that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, and Jefferson hailed the republic whose survival would itself certify to the inviolability of the principle of free speech. The main thing to remember about airy statements on the subject of free speech is that they tend to work—they don't always work—when everybody plays by the same rules. If the press is free from government censorship, things can get said with relative impunity, which things, however, can shorten the pleasant life of individuals, who have problematic recourse to the laws against slander and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

libel; and of course in democratic circumstances, governments change.

When you don't have ambient freedom, things clog up. Our policy toward Saudi Arabia takes into account concrete things. First is the oil—they sit on 25 percent of the world's supply. A second is their ownership of Mecca. A third is that we are permitted to have bases there which we sometimes rely on heavily, as when we took the trouble to protect Saudi Arabia from the juggernaut headed its way via Kuwait in 1990.

Now *Time* magazine reports in its current issue that Saudi Arabia "seethes" with hatred for the United States. Indeed in Abha, the hometown of four of the fifteen Saudi Arabian 9/11 terrorists, those bombers are held in divine esteem. Such sentiments are more pungently expressed in Egypt. The government actually owns the paper, *Al-Akhbar*. A columnist for that paper, Ahmad Ragab, calls out to "give thanks to Hitler, of blessed memory." Hitler's imperfection is that he did not succeed in murdering all the Jews, leaving a million or two to go off to Palestine.

Words Have Consequences, to borrow the formulation of the late Richard Weaver. We acknowledge this and, from all appearances, intend to do nothing about it. The first question a diplomat would ask is: What exactly do you propose that we do, to Egypt, and Saudi Arabia? But diplomacy properly concerns itself with means by which things are done, not with abandoning the objective. Consider Egypt. There are things that we could do to affect Egyptian opinion. We could stop sending them $2 billion per year, we could ban U.S. travelers from visiting Egypt, and—following the rule that you list every possibility—we could withdraw our aid to Israel.

As for the Saudis, the plan would be more complex. We could destroy Saddam Hussein, make Iraq the center of a pan-Islamic world inviting Iran, Yemen, Oman, and Syria to internationalize the sacred city of Mecca, and find a suitable university to which to send aspirant columnists to train.

It is as straightforward as that we mustn't accept as the modus vivendi of great Islamic nations the proposition that Hitler was a saintly figure in history. And that the United States doesn't much care if Islamists nevertheless think him so. The famous words of Thomas Jefferson are misread: "If there be among us any who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." Jefferson was betting that virtuous thought would drown out infamous thought. Well, in important parts of the world, it isn't doing so, and isn't even being given a chance.

Saddam Hussein, Man or Mouse?

NEW YORK, AUGUST 2

DEMOCRACY is having spring training on the matter of whether we ought to go to war against Saddam Hussein. It is very much as it should be. Senator Biden, presiding over the Foreign Relations Committee, made it a point not to subpoena a member of the administration. He does not want someone to come in unless he does so to enunciate a policy. At this point the senator was caught by the cameras in midthought, but only briefly. What he started to say, and led certainly this listener to conclude, was that the administration does not have a policy on the subject, and it would be embarrassing to call in Condi Rice or General Powell or Don Rumsfeld if they didn't have in hand a policy to report on.

The emphasis in the current line of exploration has been on what such an operation could cost, how likely would it be to make the world better and safer, and what would be a reasonable guess as to the cost to the United States, in men and matériel. One commentator said that the price tag on the Gulf War was $61 billion, $75 billion in current values, and that "four-fifths" of it had been paid by others. The difference between then and now is sharply illustrated by the stated position of Kuwait. Kuwait was the ostensible target of the Gulf War, the Danzig of 1990. We drove the Iraqis from Kuwait and quenched the fires in their oil wells. That was Operation Good Neighbor if ever we saw one.

Well, Kuwait has now told us that it will not back us in any military enterprise against Iraq.

Such declarations must not be taken as absolutely revealing of what goes on the mind of the emirs. Recall that during the Gulf War Jordan's King Hussein backed Iraq. He did so because of the politics of that straitened part of Islam. As soon as the war was over, King Hussein recaptured his seat as King of Moderation.

What becomes clearer is the absence of strategic clarity. We don't know who will be with us, who against us, and that part of the diplomatic question will affect another, namely: How many Americans would back an Iraq war? Many are bound to say that if the people most directly threatened by Saddam Hussein are not willing to join in a military venture to unseat him, the case for sending American soldiers who live in places like Iowa and Oklahoma and Connecticut becomes harder to make.

The vision of 9/12 was that we had to avenge the events of 9/11 and take action against any possibility that attacks on America, on that scale, could recur. The immediate target was Afghanistan and Osama. We conquered Afghanistan. Osama is probably dead, but his spirit is very much there, and the talk today is not of liberating Afghanistan, but of stabilizing it. Thus also the talk: What would we need to do in Iraq after Saddam handed over his sword? Will the three great factions in Iraq put together a viable state? How much more money will be needed to effect a recomposed Iraq than is available from the sale of its oil?

These questions begin to leech the resolution of the Great Avenger called up after 9/11. Back then we were ready to fight in the Mideast, and although the Taliban were in power in Afghanistan, drawing us there in search of Osama, Iraq was the central enemy. We had fought a war against Iraq and won it, and were looking at ten years of elusiveness by Saddam in the matter of the biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons he fosters. Iraq came back as a central concern when it achieved standing as one element in the axis of evil: Iran, Iraq, and North Korea. What happened was that weeks and months went by, bringing an etiolation of Iraq as the unruly monster that needs a democratic lance in its eye. It really looks as though war or peace depends on whether Mohamed Atta talked in Prague with a princeling of Saddam Hussein. The War of Jenkins's Ear comes to mind, and reasons day by day amass against proceeding with war on the government of Iraq.

It would be so very different if Britain and France and Russia and Saudi Arabia and Turkey addressed the American people pleading that our technology be mobilized against a common threat. This is not now happening, and two years from now we will need to blame either our allies, for their failure to make their case, or our president, for the failure of his administration to galvanize such a petition.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

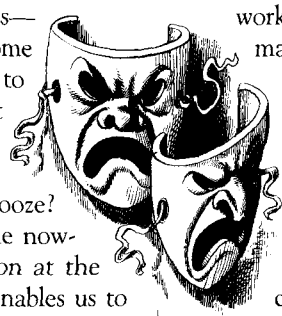
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

To say that someone "keeps up with current events" is inherently flattering, a compliment denoting seriousness, civic responsibility, and all the other right stuff. An honor student enclosed in a good citizen wrapped in a home owner, you might say.

I used to keep up with current events but now I "follow the news," which, I have begun to sense, denotes qualities of a very different sort. We could play around with various descriptive adjectives—"furtive" and "hunched" come to mind—but the best way to define it is to restate what it is that I now follow: the Nooze.



What, exactly, is the Nooze? Well, for starters there's the now-ubiquitous crawl, the ribbon at the bottom of the screen that enables us to follow still more Nooze while we are following the Nooze. The crawl came into being with 9/11, when terrorism took up so much airtime that they had to find some other way of reporting everything else. After a month or so the crawl was no longer necessary, but by then it had become one of America's "instant traditions," like the public hand-holding of presidents and first ladies begun by Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter. Every news show had a crawl, and none dared be the first to stop.

The crawl is now a repetitive, ungrammatical mélange of eccentric doings that is impossible to ignore. If terrorists took down another landmark building nobody would notice because we are too busy reading the crawl.

Since becoming a Noozehound, I have been dominated by the crawl in two ways. One is my neverending quest for the Ultimate Crawl. It's my Golden Fleece, my Holy Grail, my El Dorado, and I think I've found it. It sailed across the bottom of the screen a few months ago and there hasn't been anything to match it since.

It said: "A survey of Ukrainian prostitutes found that most took to the streets to avoid office work."

The obvious question here is why anyone would take a survey of Ukrainian prostitutes, and the answer is even more obvious: to have something to put on the crawl. CNN probably sends teams of crawl-fillers to remote corners of the globe to research whether riding bareback on wild ponies affects the testicular-cancer rate in Mongolia. The crawlspace is full of Nooze You Can Use, but it came too late for me. As a college graduate in the sexist '50s, I was consigned to boring office work, and I can testify that nothing makes a woman more desperate than being surrounded by typewriters and calculators when she knows what *deus ex machina* means. It's a wonder all female liberal-arts majors didn't become tarts.

The other offshoot of my crawl-reading is unbearable suspense. This happens when I glance away from the screen and then look back just in time to see an incomplete crawl. Such as: ". . . one person's caged bird for breakfast." Somebody ate it! Who? Why? I had to find out, and the only way to do it was to sit through the whole crawl again.

I almost made it, but then the phone rang, and by the time I got back to the TV, guess what I saw? ". . . one person's caged bird for breakfast." Dirty bombs were about to go off, the stock market was about to collapse, and my e-mail provider was about to go out of business, but all I cared about was that effin' bird. The mystery was finally cleared up in my third go at the crawl: A bear in some national park ate a camper's pet canary. What they didn't explain is why anyone would take a birdcage on a camping trip.

Once the Nooze people got us hooked on the crawl, they were faced with the problem of how to drag us away from it and make us watch the "real" Nooze. The situation demanded a controversy to make even the most dedicated crawlhead look up at the screen, and the Elizabeth Smart case supplied one: Has kidnapping been sullied by racial profiling?

Why the rich white girl was lionized while countless inner-city abductees are ignored was debated ad nauseam but nobody nailed the real reason. It goes back to the earliest form of entertainment. To ancient Greek playwrights, it was a given that "tragedy" is what happens to kings and nobles. Such class profiling remained a literary convention until the 19th century; protagonists had to be people of substance because they were the only ones whose problems were substantial enough to interest an audience.

In today's egalitarian climate we are quick to proclaim a universal right to tragedy, but we give ourselves away when we blithely refer to the whodunit we just read as "a good murder." We mean exactly what the ancient Greeks meant: mayhem in the VIP set, a corpse who was Somebody, the juxtaposition of violence and respectability that produces the psychic tension found in every "classic" crime. Lizzie Borden was a well-off churchgoer. The Ripper's victims were prostitutes but the backdrop of a puritanical Victorian society provided the respectability. The Black Dahlia was a tramp but her stunning beauty elevated her above the common herd in the public mind. For a crime to grab us, some element of social superiority must be present.

The Smart family has money and status but their real superiority lies in their innocence. Not just Elizabeth, but the whole clan. Their earnest trust, naïve goodness, and mindboggling optimism personify a lost national purity that we observe with a kind of dumbfounded awe. The Smarts represent the Old America when no Nooze was good Nooze, and we can't get enough of them. Until they came along, the only altar of lost innocence available to us was documentaries about wild animals. No matter what violence feral creatures inflict on their prey, there is no hate, no evil intent, no crime. Lions are not bigoted, piranha are not alienated, vultures are not bipolar, and there is no such thing as a pedophilic cobra.

Meanwhile, the crawl marches on. Trying to read from left to right while words are moving from right to left got me off the rails during the Amtrak crisis. The crawlspace is a cramped, narrow world, so it was only to be expected that as soon as I saw "ARAFAT MUST GO, BUSH SAYS," I yelled "You train-hating twit!" NR

Miss King can be reached at P. O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, Va. 22404.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It's the Trade Deficit, Stupid

The U.S. stock market was in decline months before any outside investor or federal regulator knew anything about the shenanigans inside Enron, WorldCom, Global Crossing, or any of the many other corporations now under investigation.

These scandals provide a rationale for long overdue reforms in corporate accounting and governance, plus some villains for public display.

The real cause of the turbulence in global stock markets, however, is the massive U.S. trade deficit, which now exceeds $1 billion per day.

The massive trade deficits of recent years have flooded the world with dollars, cheapening the value of our currency. Both Paul Volcker and Alan Greenspan – past and current Chairs of the Federal Reserve – say these deficits are unsustainable and a danger to our economy.

Bad trade deals such as NAFTA and the World Trade Organization are the basic cause of these deficits. They allow U.S. and foreign producers to use nations with penny-wages and lax regulations as their manufacturing platforms and then to ship their products almost duty-free into the U.S. market.

Put into context – China offers global manufacturers a virtually unlimited supply of highly productive manufacturing workers for a price of 37 cents an hour. Since 2000, more than 250,000 jobs have been moved from Mexico to China. In that same period, the United States has lost more than 1.8 million good-paying manufacturing jobs with most going to low-wage locations, such as China.

Instead of addressing the trade deficit, Congress passed "Fast Track" trade negotiating authority. On the horizon are new agreements that will worsen the trade deficit, cut more good-paying U.S. manufacturing jobs, and further increase instability in the stock market.

It really *is* the trade deficit, and it's high time Congress used its constitutional authority over foreign commerce to oversee the negotiations and stop the Trade Representative from negotiating the same old bad deals. Anything else would be irresponsible.

What do you think?

CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN U.S.A.

Crafted With Pride in the USA
It Matters!

P.O. Box 65326, Washington, DC 20035

Crafted With Pride in the USA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OVER THE COURSE OF HIS THIRTY-YEAR CAREER, KEN LEE HAS DONE EVERYTHING.

EXCEPT QUIT.

Ken Lee started working at UPS in 1971, when he was still a student in college. Since then, he's tackled a number of jobs in cities across the country. In his first UPS job, Ken unloaded trucks. A promotion took him to Seattle. Then to Greenwich, CT. Then to Atlanta. At UPS, we offer employees diverse experiences to help meet the needs of a diverse workforce. That approach has worked well for us, and for Ken Lee. Today, he's Vice President for International Security at UPS. We can rest easy as long as Ken's in that role. Because no matter what comes up, we know he won't give in.

ups

WHAT CAN BROWN DO FOR YOU?™

community.ups.com

LICENSED TO LINZ ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED